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ABSTRACT

Teachers (n=122) from 5 secondary comprehensive schools in England and Wales were interviewed to find out how a teacher seeks a career within a school, what teachers perceive occurring within the school, and how this relates to the rapid and substantial structural change that is occurring in secondary schools. Data were organized using a theoretical model principally derived from the work of Everett Hughes, Julius Roth, and Howard Becker. This model proves useful in describing and explaining the career behaviors identified, and in understanding how schools become the source of different careers for the teachers who work in them. Chapters of this book include: (1) Introduction; (2) Research Background; (3) Timetables, Maps, Strategies, and Sponsorship; (4) Career Stages and Gate-Keeping Devices; (5) The School as a Source of Different Careers and the Consequences for Teachers; and (6) The Picture in Perspective. Tables are included in the text of the book. (JMK)

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Teacher Careers and Career Perceptions

Teacher careers and career perceptions in the secondary comprehensive school

Geoffrey Lyons

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Chapter One

Introduction

The last decade has seen substantial changes in the structure and organization of secondary schools, and the last few years have proved to be particularly troublesome times. There have of course been other such occasions in the past. Against this background attention is focussed on the careers of a small sample of teachers in secondary comprehensive schools; it is intended, by examining how this one group of teachers perceived and constructed their careers (or failed to do so as so often seemed to be the case), to throw some light on problems facing schools where the career or development of secondary school staff is concerned.

The work is based upon interviews held with 122 teachers in five comprehensive schools[1]. It is not a statistical account of what proportion of teachers did this or that, nor does it make any claims as to what might be the case 'nationally'. The research was designed to provide illustrative information[2] and the statistical treatment given here was undertaken in order to give consistency and coherence to the picture. Where possible, the words are the teachers' own.

The changes referred to above exist at many levels — at pedagogic, curricular and structural levels — where they have invariably been reinforced by the pattern of financial reward negotiated for teachers through existing 'Burnham' machinery. The cumulative effect of these changes has of course been manifold. At the simplest level the increase in size of comprehensive schools means that there are fewer head teachers; a smaller number of teachers therefore can have fulfillable ambitions of headship. This situation, however, disguises the increase in subsidiary posts which usually carry financial reward above the basic scale, and which will, for the majority of teachers, represent their fulfillable aspirations and their career grade. The

consequences of other changes are seen in:- the greater complexity of curricular processes, administrative support services, the greater permeability of the school's boundaries and willingness on the school's part to become involved in the community, the complexity of the organization itself, and so on. The large school provides a work place for considerable numbers of staff, who are involved either directly or indirectly in the process of educating children, and the problem of relating to them all, in turn becomes complex. There is a greater diversity of role and of career pattern than there was in schools of ten, twenty, or thirty years ago.

The comprehensive school seems to exemplify the enormous changes that have taken place in teachers' careers, particularly the more traditionally conceived careers in teaching. These changes, of course, are still going on, although the dominant influences are now more likely to be associated with economic contraction and a fall in pupil enrolment. However, the centrality of how teachers' careers are perceived and constructed, particularly by themselves, remains.

Those teachers who are now nearing retirement might look back over their careers with varying degrees of satisfaction, or even of disappointment, and muse over what might have been. In many ways the variety of careers available to them as teachers thirty or forty years ago appear to have been immeasurably more simple than is now the case. A preponderance of women teachers were to be found in the primary sector, male graduates in grammar schools and non-graduates in the secondary moiderns, or the precursors of secondary moderns. Secondary schools, at least, were smaller, the curriculum simpler, and the rewards and expectations of the teachers (so the teachers approaching retirement related), much more self evident. More teachers could legitimately aspire to headship. Perhaps it was also sufficient, in terms of prestige and financial rewards just to have been a class teacher; for seniority and status, it seems, apparently accrued from years of service in a particular school.

For those of our sample who entered teaching in the 1930s the profession, they said, represented a safe and secure career of high social status and financial reward, but as one of them, a man nearing retirement remarked without bitterness, his career in teaching seemed to be summed up by the erosion of all of these factors.

In more recent years the complexity and 'bureaucratization' of the educational process has led to a multiplicity of types of posts. This trend has been particularly evident in the secondary comprehensive school where hierarchical levels of responsibility and consequent delegation of responsibility, are effectively differentiated and reinforced by the scale of salaries offered under negotiated 'Burnham'

agreements. The range of career goals available is infinitely more varied than was the case even as little as twenty-five years ago.

Opportunities now exist to specialize in, for example, pupil-pastoral welfare activities; counselling; the overview of curricular processes and their development and renewal; the professional development of staff; the day-to-day maintenance of complex institutions, etc. Depending upon the level of responsibility carried, such duties are associated with deputy heads' posts, or those of heads of sections, or senior teachers, and are also enacted through a range of middle management posts, including those of heads of departments, heads of faculties and their deputies.

Within this context posts are now invariably advertised nationally and it therefore becomes possible for teachers to join in open competition for positions at all levels, for monetary reward. Headteachers do not emerge through some mysterious process from the ranks of class teachers and, in the secondary comprehensive school, the outlining of a fairly rigidly delineated career structure has at least to some, become apparent. It seems as though success in the sense of obtaining more prestigious posts might well go to those who know how to play the career game.

The more usual idea of teacher careers seems to imply a homogeneity amongst teachers in terms of their career needs, a concept which does not match the real situation. It is suggested here, that there are many different sorts of teachers, who are motivated to join the teaching profession for different reasons, who will derive different satisfactions from it, and in turn these satisfactions will be differentially mediated over time. A career in teaching appears to present a unilineal picture and by analogy it can be compared to a tree. The trunk represents the large number of those who enter teaching as the start of a career in education; with each career stage, as they progress along the main branches, greater and greater specialization is displayed: there is correspondingly less and less opportunity to retrace steps or transfer between branches, certainly at the extremity of the branches, as the career advances. The chief education officer, the headteacher, the HMI, all started their careers as class teachers, as did the man who may never have realized that promotion is not something that happens, but something which (usually) you bring about for yourself. Allied to this is the extraordinary belief that, for the man who remains as a class teacher, what gave satisfaction and reward on first entering the profession will still be doing so thirty years later, unless he does something about it himself. The educational system, at least, appears to act as if this were the case. Many teachers interviewed seemed to have difficulty in perceiving the need to maintain flexibility of career goals. It is

intended to examine, using a somewhat simplified theoretical framework, such issues as the need to keep in balance institutional and individual goals; the ways in which different personal values might be associated with different career stages, and promotion may not be a necessary result of what the teacher considers to be 'doing a good job'; loyalty to a particular school; and the fact that, although the teacher may be trained and certificated at entry, any subsequent development or promotion really lies in an attitude of mind to further training, self development, and so on.

Here a perspective developed principally by Hughes, Roth and Becker[3] is used to account for the ways in which a group of interviewed teachers[4] thought about, or constructed their careers and how the educational system in which they work appeared to act in relation to them. The research information provides an orientation which highlights the difficult problems of the relationship of schools to teachers where their mutual development, or individual development, is concerned — in short, it provides some initial focus upon teacher careers within the wider and increasingly important context of staff development. However, its core consists of the views that the teachers in five secondary comprehensive schools held of their careers, and of careers for teachers in the secondary sector.[5]

Basic Elements of the Framework

The basic elements can be outlined as follows:—
Firstly, the notion of a career as composed of a system of compartments or stages sequentially arranged a timetable of a career that is normatively based and thus constantly changing (this timetable is constructed from the teachers' own perceptions of the career performance of his significant peers); and following from this is a strong purposive element in the idea of a map of a career and the knowledge that you need to construct a map to achieve the success you seek. Another idea which proves important is that of situational adjustment and the interrelated concepts described as 'commitment', 'accumulation of advantages', 'valuables', or 'side-bets'. These can, in some ways, almost be likened to a force of inertia, for, as time goes by, the advantages (desires even) of staying put in one job and one place, can far outweigh the effects of any likely force for change. Allied to this, a further idea becomes important which is that of the school as a source of different careers for teachers.

All of these elements are interlinked when the career of the teacher is examined. However, one particular outcome which the use of this

framework emphasizes is the implicit notion of 'success'. Here we shall use the teachers' own views of their success or failure to draw attention to the fundamental notion of what constitutes success in a teaching career and the somewhat self-evident and widely differing views which existed among this sample of teachers.

The Social Context of Careers

One of the major orientations used here is derived from the works of Everett C. Hughes.[6] Let us therefore start this section with a series of quotations from his work. He writes:

> In a relatively stable state of society, the passage from one status to another is smooth and the experience of each generation is very like that of its predecessor. In such a state the expected rate of passage from one status to another, and an accompanying scheme of training and selection of those who are to succeed to instituted offices, determine the ambitions, efforts and accomplishments of the individual. In a society where major changes are taking place, the sequence of generations in an office and that of offices in the life of a person are disturbed ... However one's ambition and accomplishments turn, they involve some sequence of relations to organized life. In a highly and rigidly structured society, a career consists, objectively, of a series of status and clearly defined offices. In a freer one, the individual has more latitude for creating his own position or choosing from a number of existing ones; he has also less certainty of achieving any given position.
>
> There are more adventurers and more failures; but unless complete disorder reigns, there will be typical sequences of position, achievement, responsibility, and even of adventure. The social order will set limits upon the individual's orientation of his life, both as to direction of effort and as to interpretation of its meaning.

In writing about doctors Hughes says:

> Career is, in fact, a sort of running adjustment between a man and the various facts of life and of his professional world. It involves the running of risks, for his career is his ultimate enterprise, his laying of his bets on his one and only life. It contains a set of projections of himself into the future, and a set of predictions about the course of events in the world itself.[7]
>
> Institutions are but the forms in which the collective

> behaviour and collective action of people go on. In the course of a career the person finds his place within those forms, carries on his active life with reference to other people, and interprets the one meaning of the life he has to live.
>
> Thus, a career consists 'objectively' of a series of statuses and clearly defined offices — and there will be typical sequences of position, responsibility, even of adventure, and, 'subjectively', the moving perspective in which a person sees his life as a whole, and interprets his attributes, actions and the things which happen to him . . .[8]

Becker[9] draws attention to several important concepts for understanding careers 'Situational adjustment'—'the adjustment which the individual makes, himself or collectively, to the demands of the social (in this case the work) situation, which he finds himself in . . It allows us to account for changes people undergo as they move through various situations in their adult life'.

'Commitment' is when the person rejects other situationally feasible alternatives, choosing from among the available courses of action that which best suits his purpose, because of the 'valuables', the 'side-bets' he has invested in the present situation. For example, he is unwilling to face up to making new friends; cannot afford to buy another house if he moves; does not wish to appear to his colleagues as one who jumps from job to job, or to place his career before his family, and so on. Blanche Geer,[10] quoting Becker suggests

> that commitment to any consistent line of activity occurs when an individual, confronted with an opportunity to depart from it, discovers that in the course of past activity he has, wittingly or not, accumulated valuables of a kind that would be lost to him if he makes a change. The teacher continues to teach because it has become convenient.

Following from the perspectives developed by Becker the idea of 'alternative career' also proves useful to an understanding of teacher-career behaviour; although largely age-related, it is not exclusively so. The principal instances of an 'alternative career' are where the career in teaching does not represent the sole means of fulfilling and satisfying the teacher's needs. He will find other viable and satisfying activities, often voluntary, which will give the satisfaction and status which may not accrue from his principal occupation. On the other hand, the teacher might use teaching as a shared commitment, as a source of income to allow fulfilment of his personal interest, as in the

case of the craft teacher who, though teaching pottery, also spends the whole of his spare time potting, and so on. This is not to suggest that such teachers are any less worthy or effective teachers: it seems likely, in fact, that the reverse may be the case.

Roth sharpens the perspectives developed above. He[11] focusses our attention upon 'time', in particular upon 'timetables', as a crucial factor in the analysis of careers. To Roth the crucial features in structuring time are the reduction of uncertainty and the fact that, since timetable norms are essentially group-bound, they must be constructed by reference to others (although not necessarily in a face-to-face group situation). It seems necessary that we split up our careers into 'blocks of time', measure progress against 'reference points' and success against 'reference groups'. The norms of success or failure, for example, have an essential social base.

> A person attaches himself to a faster or a slower moving subgroup, depending upon what set of expectations he thinks he can meet[12]

He further draws our attention to the existence of dividing points serving as signposts, which allow one to measure progress (or lack of it) in any given direction. These career 'bench marks', 'testing points', allow the individual to internalise time perspectives, and measure himself against them.

> The more unclear the reference points are, the harder it is for members of a career group to know where they stand in relation to others and the more likely it is that they will attend to inappropriate clues and thus make grossly inaccurate predictions concerning future progress[13]

Career self evaluation — the measuring of one's progress against one's peers, which includes the implied motivation derived from this source — is likely to prove, therefore, an important explanatory tool.

One other issue, which rather obviously springs from the above discussion, is the nature of values or attitudes in a teaching career. Elizabeth Richardson[14] in *The Teacher, the School, and the Task of Management*, draws attention to discontinuities in career development, caused by the need to move between areas of the school — to go, as it were, through boundaries. For example, she draws attention to the difficulties a teacher may face in adjusting to a move from a post in a subject department to a welfare or pastoral post (the same difficulty clearly exists in moving from a subject to an administrative post, perhaps even more so). It is likely that the type of

career progression indicated above will raise issues concerned with dominant values associated with each career stage. It is suggested that ambiguities as to what constitutes success in a teaching career can be a cause of considerable difficulty for both teacher and educational system. Values will underpin the teachers' maps of their careers, and the strategic use of these maps to pursue the goals that the maps identify. It must be evident then that such values help in providing successful and unsuccessful, relevant and irrelevant, maps and strategies. Implicit in the ideas being developed here is that the teachers' perspectives of their careers within the educational sector must constantly change as they are tested against the reality of what is occurring. Stenning[15] has begun to provide one description of a possible future structure and direction of the educational sector.

These formulations allow us to ask quite major questions about the careers of these teachers in this particular sample, and to use the perspective derived as a model with which to speculate about teachers in comprehensive schools in a more general way. These questions are not normally thought of as being congruent with the objectives ascribed to a school in its purely educative capacity, and are usually seen as indirectly related to pupil needs but directly related to staff needs.

The idea that a career is composed of stages or compartments sequentially arranged allows us on the one hand to view the teacher's progression through the various scale posts or, on the other hand, to envisage stages in the total span of the teacher's career. We shall not pursue the latter issue except as a consequence of examining the teacher's movement through the various hierarchical levels within the school.[16]

It thus becomes important to determine what knowledge those at any career stage have of other stages and how they acquire this knowledge. Many questions can be posed. What are seen as necessary conditions for entry to, or, alternatively, remaining in or leaving, any stage? Who produces, controls, maintains and elaborates on these conditions, and with what aim is this done? Which stages are seen as having the greatest significance by the incumbents? What rituals are there to identify, and therefore to mark, the transference from one stage to another? Is it likely that different groups of teachers are able to perceive the structure of a career with differing degrees of clarity and that what the educational system appears to do (in promoting teachers) and what (some) teachers think is the case, are not necessarily congruent, and that there is consequently a variety of

different careers available in the comprehensive school? Roth demonstrates that the acquisition of the necessary 'career' information is likely to take time and to be built upon perceptions of peer behaviour. Will teachers thus progress themselves through their careers with differing advantages? Does transition between career stages (for example, from classroom teacher to administrator) involve either change or a re-emphasis of values and will this for some prove difficult, if not impossible? Are conceptions of success and failure, to some extent at least, likely to be inter-related with the above perceptions, and self generated? Are there advantages in having a strategy and seeing the need to gain sponsorship thus minimizing luck or other extraneous forces? Are different perceptions of what constitutes success and failure, certainly as measured in terms of financial reward and power, implicit in a career?

How does the teacher accumulate 'valuables'? Are specific groups disadvantaged — for example, married women returners, or late entrants, because they are unable to progress through the 'correct' sequence of stages according to the 'correct' timetable. How much is invested in, or lost, in career moves and does this inhibit lateral moves?

Immediately a range of related questions can be posed. How, for example, does a school set out to promote and evaluate success amongst its staff? How does a school as an organization cope with career failure as seen either by itself or the teacher concerned? How does the school ensure that the aspirations that it has for future development are in harmony with the aspirations of its teachers? How does a school plan for its future in personnel terms — that is, to what degree does a school map out its anticipation of the career of an assistant teacher, a head of department or a deputy head? Does this coincide with the incumbent's view and what happens if 'contradictory' timetables exist? Does the school regard itself as a springboard for training? How strongly is the view held that the teacher should make his own way?

Related questions are obviously posed at an LEA level, where concerns of manpower planning, equitable staff distribution and balance are pertinent issues, as are the extent to which branching restricts career development and the problems of occupying plateaux in career terms, although these, and similar issues are not the concern of this piece of work. It is hoped that by raising issues such as these, and other related ones, a discussion of teacher careers can take place against a more informed background. It is, of course, impossible at this time to provide answers to all of these questions and, in

particular, to provide answers in the form of a ready-made blue-print to action. Research can of course play its part, but many of the questions have fundamental value bases. It is up to the wider community and the teaching profession itself to provide answers to questions of that sort. It is to these sources that one must finally turn for the determination of the position and status of teaching as a professional occupation in our society.

Let us now turn to the responses of our sample of teachers, and look at those which may provide some answers to such questions.

Notes

[1] LYONS, G. (1975). *Teachers Careers and Career Perceptions.* Report to the DES. University of Bristol.

[2] Among the principal objectives of the original research were: to give greater insight into in-service training needs of comprehensive school teachers, particularly for their training in school administration; and to aid the production of programmes of staff development for the comprehensive school. See particularly: LYONS, G. (1976). *Heads' Tasks.* Windsor: NFER Publishing Company.

[3] See p 13 onwards in this chapter.

[4] Details of the construction of the sample can be found in Chapter 2.

[5] For a very good discussion on these types of issues, albeit in a different context, the reader is also referred to DALE, R. (1972). Unit 6. 'The Career of the Pupil'. In *The Social Organization of Teaching and Learning.* E.282. The Open University Press.

[6] HUGHES, Everett C. (1964). *Men and their Work.* Free Press of Glencoe. Second edition.

[7] HUGHES, Everett C. Ibid. Chapter 9.

[8] HUGHES, Everett C. Ibid. Chapter 4. *See also* GLASER, B.G. (Edit.) (1968). *Organisational Careers.* Chapter 1, 'Careers and Office'. Chicago: Aldine.

[9] BECKER, H.S. (1971). *Personal Change in Adult Life, in: School & Society.* Open University Reader. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

[10] GEER, B. (1968). 'Occupations, Commitments and the Teaching Profession'. In: BECKER, GEER, REISMAN, WEISS (Eds). *Institutions and the Person.* Chicago: Aldine.

[11] ROTH, J.A. (1963). *Timetables: Structuring the Passage of Time in Hospital Treatment and other Careers.* Bobbs Merril. See also ROTH, J.A. (1971). 'The Study of the Career Timetables', in *School and Society.* Open University Reader. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

[12] ROTH, J.A. Ibid.

[13] ROTH, J.A. Ibid.

[14] RICHARDSON, E. (1973). *The Teacher, the School and the Task of Management.* London: Heinemann.

[15] STENNING, R. (1979). 'The changing nature of employment relations in secondary schools', *Educational Administration,* 7, 2. Summer.

[16] Issues relating to recruitment and induction of staff are excluded from this discussion. For treatment of issues relating to recruitment to the secondary school see LYONS, G. and STENNING, R., *Recruitment to the Secondary School: A*

discussion document and simulation exercise — forthcoming.
For a discussion of problems associated with induction in the first year of teaching *see* TAYLOR, J.K. and DALE, I.R. (1971). 'A Survey of Teachers in the First Year of Teaching'. Bristol: University of Bristol. also HANNAM, C., SMYTH, P. and STEPHENSON, N. (1976). *The First Year of Teaching*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Education Special.

Chapter Two

Research background

Five schools only were chosen for this work and from the five schools a stratified sample of staff by sex, age, position held and years of teaching experience was composed. Details of this distribution are shown below.

The schools themselves were in different parts of England and Wales, and varied in their histories, their size and their organizational make-up. All were, however, fully developed secondary comprehensive schools.

The small number of teachers interviewed, 122 in all, was felt to be justified in terms of the resources available to the project to gather and analyse the data and in terms of the depth of interview which was to be carried out. In all, five to six weeks were spent in the schools and approximately 200 hours of interviewing by two members of the project staff were involved.

The analysis of the data, the development of a coding scheme, the coding itself and the preparation of data for computer input were undertaken by the project staff. Computer analysis was used for bulk analysis of data, to underpin the 'illustrative research' approach which was adopted.

Coding of data took place during a summer vacation and was done by the staff of the project and by students of the university who worked together in one room in pairs, so facilitating and standardizing coding response. An extensive coding manual had already been produced by the project staff. Each interview schedule was independently coded by two pairs of coders to ensure that mistakes or subjective discrepancies in the coded documents were minimized.

Because of the extremely sensitive nature of the information to be collected, it was felt that open-ended interviews, conducted in private, though in school time, would be most appropriate. An interview schedule was constructed and all interviews were conducted according to this schedule. The questions asked of each interviewee were therefore identical. A copy of the schedule appears on pp26-40. It was constructed to follow the chronological stages of a career and so enabled a flow of natural dialogue and allowed more pointed and revealing questions to be asked without awkwardness or embarrassment.

Mounting such a project depends wholly on goodwill within the education profession. The approach to schools was geared to ensure that the decision to participate was taken by the whole staff of each school. All the schools had, in fact, originally taken part in the Phase I stage of an earlier research project concerned with the administrative duties of teachers in large secondary schools.[1]

The initial approach was made to the local education authorities and the head teacher was asked for permission to discuss the project with the staff of the school. On all occasions a staff meeting was addressed by the project director, outlining what would be involved and the use to which the data, once gathered and analysed, would be put. The schools were asked to forward their decision whether or not to participate after full discussion had taken place in the school.

Help was sought from the school in presenting a profile of all staff according to the basic variables mentioned earlier, namely numbers, position held, sex, years of teaching experience etc. From this information a sample was constructed and the schools were asked to ensure that these members of staff would be free for interview for at least one continuous one and a half hour session. In each of the five schools two rooms where confidential interviewing could take place were placed at the disposal of the project staff. Every available opportunity was taken to stress that the data so collected would remain entirely confidential.

Simultaneously with the approach to schools, all major teacher professional associations were contacted. The nature and the aims of the project were outlined and copies of the interview schedules were provided. All the associations gave their approval to the project.

Not until this approval was given and all five schools had volunteered to participate did the fieldwork of the project begin.

A small pilot exercise was conducted to validate the interview schedule, and at this stage contact was made with the National

Foundation for Educational Research, who had recently completed a much larger project of a similar nature. We received help and encouragement from the National Foundation for Educational Research and were able to draw on their experience.

For the purpose of analysing geographical mobility a numerical code was produced, in which areas of the country were distinguished from each other as clearly recognizable urban centres, as centres of more traditional local loyalties and identities or as those areas which permitted easy commuting. These geographical areas form one of the parameters examined in Chapter 4 under Mobility.

The sample of teachers were asked about their career expectations to ascertain how clearly they perceived what they wanted from their careers in teaching and how they might go about accomplishing these expectations. It was surmised that teachers would possibly have formulated some sort of conceptual 'map' of their future careers; and that this map would exist in various forms for various age groups and so on.

Those with more experience, for instance, might be expected to show a better formulated and more realistic perception than those just entering teaching. It was also noted that students trained as physical education teachers are acquainted during their training with the need to switch from PE to other specialisms, or to teach their subsidiary subject as they get older and physically less agile. And many young women entering teaching do so with the knowledge that they may leave to have a family and consequently are aware of the need to familiarize themselves with the problems of returning to teaching after raising their family.

Sampling

The schools which took part in the research from which this work was drawn were all fully developed comprehensives, and had in the past been the subjects of the earlier research referred to above. The five schools chosen for this part of the work were invited to submit, as mentioned above, full staff lists at the time the project started, giving the gender and length of teaching experience of each teacher. The sample of teachers to be interviewed was then constructed with a view to representing as nearly as possible the distribution of the various categories of teachers in the sample schools. Table 2.1 shows the sex distribution of total and sampled staff in the five schools:

It will be seen that the percentages of male and female teachers in the total and sampled staff for each school, and overall, are broadly

comparable.

Table 2.2 shows similar distributions for the total and sampled staff in schools in terms of years of teaching experience. School 4 is omitted from this table, since it was not possible to obtain figures for the years of experience of every member of staff.

It will be seen again that percentage distributions for this variable are broadly comparable. It was impossible to reflect the school distributions exactly, partly due to the small size of the sample (which represents, overall, 28.7 per cent of the total staff in the five schools) and partly because of the need to include certain key senior members of staff.

Within the sample, the distributions of school posts and ages of teachers are shown in Table 2.3. The division of posts held into four groups: Scale 1, Graded, Mid-Post and Top Post is used throughout this work and the groups are defined as:

Present Status:

Scale 1	—	Year Master, Probationer, Form Teacher;
Graded	—	i/c Special Responsibility, Deputy Head of Department, Librarian;
Mid-Post	—	Housemaster, Deputy Head of Section, Year Tutor/Head, Counsellor, Head of Department;
Top Post	—	Senior Mistress/Master, Head of Section, Deputy Headteacher, Headteacher, Director of Studies.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data which formed the basis of this study were collected by two interviewers who visited the five schools taking part in the research. Each interviewer met each teacher normally only once. The interviews lasted, on average, about one and a half hours, following the interview schedule. The answers to the questions posed were usually recorded by the interviewer, partly by marking or underlining appropriate responses on the schedule and partly in longhand for extensive comments; although the responses to three long questions were recorded by the respondents themselves, by ticking the appropriate boxes in questions 13, 14 and 17 of the schedules, which were detached and handed to them. The exception to the single interview occurred mainly in the first school visited, and was the result of a slight revision of the schedule, brought about by the experience of the interviewers at that school. This meant re-interviewing some of the participant teachers.

Table 2.1 Sex Distribution of total and sampled staff in the five schools

		Males		*Females*		
		N	%	N	%	*Total*
School 1	Total	48	52	45	48	93
	Sample	15	56	12	44	27
School 2	Total	28	67	14	33	42
	Sample	9	69	4	31	13
School 3	Total	44	72	17	28	61
	Sample	11	58	8	42	19
School 4	Total	54	51	51	49	105
	Sample	17	59	12	41	29
School 5	Total	68	55	56	45	124
	Sample	19	56	15	44	34
Total	Total	242	57	183	43	425
	Sample	71	58	51	42	122

Table 2.2 Years teaching experience for total and sampled staff in the five schools

		0-5 years		*6-10 years*		*10+years*		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	*Total*
School 1	Total	39	42	8	9	46	49	93
	Sample	10	37	1	4	16	59	27
School 2	Total	12	29	1	2	29	69	42
	Sample	2	15	1	8	10	77	13
School 3	Total	23	38	12	20	26	42	61
	Sample	5	26	3	16	11	58	19
School 5	Total	38	31	23	19	63	51	124
	Sample	11	32	9	26	14	42	34
Total	Total	112	35	44	14	164	51	320
	Sample	28	30	14	15	51	55	93

Figures were not completely available for School 4

Table 2.3 Distribution of posts and age of sampled teachers in the five schools

All Schools	*Scale 1*		*Graded*		*Mid-Post*		*Top Post*		*Total*	
Ages	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
21-25	5	6	2	4	1	1	—	—	8	11
26-35	3	4	7	7	9	6	2	—	21	17
36-45	2	—	5	5	9	3	4	2	20	10
46+	2	—	1	1	14	9	5	3	22	13
Total	12	10	15	17	33	19	11	5	71	51
Total Teachers:	22		32		52		16		122	

CAREERS SCHEDULE INTERVIEW

	For office use only
1. School	1.
2.1. Names (Mr./Mrs./Miss)	2.1.
2.2. Age group: 20-30/30-50/50+	2.2.
3.1. Are you married/single	3.1
3.2. Have you a dependent family, yes/no	3.2.
3.3. Has this restricted your job mobility at any stage of your career.	3.3.

4.1. I would like to start by getting some idea of your past career. It would probably be easiest if we started with your present post and worked backwards. Would you tell me the nature of your present post? How long have you held this post?

Dates	Employer/ School	Position/ Grade	L.E.A.

4a
4b
4c
4d
4e
4f

For office use only

4.2. What was your previous post? How long did you hold it? Who was your employer? Was this a more junior post? Continue these questions until initial training period.

Dates	Employer/ School	Position/ Grade	L.E.A.

4g
4h
4i
4j
4k
4l
4m
4n

4.3. For how many years, then, have you been teaching?

4.3

For office use only

5. What sort of initial training did you receive?

Untrained		5.	
Teacher's Certificate			
Degree or equivalent			
Degree and postgraduate certificate			
Other (please specify):			

If "degree" or "degree and postgraduate certificate" please give:

6.	Name of university or polytechnic or other institution		6.	
7.	Class and division of degree		7.	

For office use only

If you did receive a course of teacher training, please indicate:

8.1. Which age-range you were trained to teach:

Nursery	8.1	
Infant		
Junior		
Middle school		
Secondary		
Other (please specify):		

8.2. To go further back, at what sort of school did you complete the majority of your secondary education?

Secondary Modern	8.2	
Secondary Grammar		
Secondary Comprehensive		
Direct Grant Grammar School		
Private School		
Other (please specify):		

For office use only

9.1. Have you, since your initial training, taken any further degree- or diploma-awarding courses of professional education? Qualification? Nature of course? Organising body? Approx. dates? Why undertaken (career interest or subject interest or extraneous)? Satisfaction (yes for reasons undertaken; no for reasons undertaken; yes/no for other reasons: probe suggested improvements to account for satisfaction). Has **fact** of qualification improved chances of promotion? Affected your performance in job?

9.1

1. ☐
2. ☐
3. ☐
4. ☐
5. ☐

Qualif.	Course	Org. Body	Dates	Reasons

9.2

1. ☐
2. ☐
3. ☐
4. ☐
5. ☐

For office use only

9. Continued. Qualification. Nature of course. Organising body.
Why undertaken? Career interest etc. as over.

Qualif.	Course	Org. Body	Dates	Reasons

9.3

1. ☐
2. ☐
3. ☐
4. ☐
5. ☐

For office use only

10.1. Have you in the last ten years undergone any part-time (evening, weekend or day) courses of further professional training?

Yes/No

10.2. How many?

0 5 10 15 20 20+ 10.2 ☐

10.3. In what ways if at all have these courses helped you in your career? 10.3 ☐

10.4. In what ways have these courses proved to have only marginal value? 10.4 ☐

11.1. Was school-teaching your first choice as a career?

Yes ☐ No ☐ 11.1 ☐

11.2. What made the teaching profession attractive to you?

Career	
Academic	
Working conditions — hours	
Other	

Comment:

12.1. Assuming there were no obstacles of any sort, what would you see as your ultimate goal — the job you would like to be doing before you retire — within or outside the teaching profession?

			For office use only
Secondary comprehensive		12.1	
Secondary grammar			
Higher/further education			
Inspectorate/Adviser			
Teachers' Centre Warden			
L.E.A. administration			
Other (specify)			

12.2. Actual position: 12.2

12.3. What position(s) within schools do you see as the necessary intermediate goal in order to attain your ultimate goal?

Next post 12.3

Other(s)

Comment:

13. Below is a list of various aspects of a teacher's job which some teachers mention as giving them satisfaction or dissatisfaction in their work. Would you indicate, by ticking in the appropriate column, the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction which you derive from each aspect of your present job.

Aspect of job	Very satisfactory	Quite satisfactory	No reaction	Unsatisfactory	Very unsatisfactory		
The actual teaching process						13.1	
The administrative content of the job						13.2	
Contact with pupils						13.3	
Recognition by the community						13.4	
Degree of personal responsibility and independence						13.5	
Security in job						13.6	
Salary prospects						13.7	
Opportunities for professional advancement						13.8	
Pattern of working conditions; including hours of work, length of holidays						13.9	
Time to pursue academic interests						13.10	
Time to pursue personal interests						13.11	
Relationship with colleagues in a similar position						13.12	
A sense of personal achievement						13.13	
Recognition for work well done						13.14	

14. Would you think that teachers in general would agree with the ratings of items you have as sources of satisfaction or dissatisfaction? Please go through the list again indicating how you think teachers in general might react to the different aspects of teaching listed below.

Aspect of job	Very satisfactory	Quite satisfactory	No reaction	Unsatisfactory	Very unsatisfactory		For office use only
The actual teaching process						14.1	
The administrative content of the job						14.2	
Contact with pupils						14.3	
Recognition by the community						14.4	
Degree of personal responsibility and independence						14.5	
Security in job						14.6	
Salary prospects						14.7	
Opportunities for professional advancement						14.8	
Pattern of working conditions; including hours of work, length of holidays						14.9	
Time to pursue academic interests						14.10	
Time to pursue personal interests						14.11	
Relationship with colleagues in a similar position						14.12	
A sense of personal achievement						14.13	
Recognition for work well done						14.14	

For office use only

15.1. Now, to take a possibly more realistic view of your career, what position do you **expect** will be your final one before retirement?

15.1 [ ]

15.2. And what do you **expect** to be your next job? 15.2 [ ]

15.3. Is there a time when a teacher sees clearly the career opportunities in education?

Yes/No.

When did you see this?

Comment:

Was there a time when you realised that you might not achieve your ambitions?

Comment: (time and nature of realisation).

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16. If the post (see 12.3) were offered to you, would you accept it if it meant:—

(a) A marked decrease in the proportion of administration — Yes | | No | | 16a

(b) Moving school — Yes | | No | | 16b

(c) Moving L.E.A. — Yes | | No | | 16c

(d) Moving house — Yes | | No | | 16d

(e) No increase in salary — Yes | | No | | 16e

(f) Has a dependent family restricted your job mobility at any stage of your career?

Yes/No.

If yes, which stage or stages?

Comment:

17. Here is a list of factors which may influence promotion prospects. Please tick in the first column those which you consider to be relevant to teachers in a similar position to your own. Please look over those items which you have ticked, and place an additional tick in the second column for those which you consider to be especially important.

	Relevant	Very important	For office use only	
Length of teaching experience			01	
Long service in a particular school			02	
Experience in a variety of schools			03	
Being a graduate			04	
Having expertise in a particular subject or method			05	
Concern for welfare of individual pupils			06	
Qualification in subject for which there is a teacher shortage			07	
Successful experience with examination candidates			08	
Ability to control pupils			09	
Flexibility in teaching methods			10	
Administrative ability			11	
Attendance at in-service courses			12	
Participation in extra-curricular activities			13	
Familiarity with new ideas in education			14	
Participation in innovative practices			15	
Conformity with views of advisers and/or inspectors			16	
Personal social contacts with people who can influence promotion			17	
Good relationship with Head			18	
Good relationship with other staff			19	
Having a strong personality			20	
Being married			21	
Being a parent			22	
Being a man			23	
Being a woman			24	
Being younger than 40			25	
Being native to area where post advertised			26	
Having taught in area where post advertised			27	
Willingness to move to other areas			28	
Experience in Education apart from teaching, e.g. H. & F.E. Educ. Inst.			29	
Experience outside Education, e.g. industry			30	
Participation in civic activities, e.g. Councillor, community service			31	
Publications (textbooks etc.)			32	
Are there any factors which you think have been left out?			33	

Comment:

18. Apart from your job, do you at present undertake any:—

	Yes	No	Past dates		For office use only	
Paid work of an educational nature				18.1		
Voluntary community work/youth work				18.2		
Membership of local councils				18.3		
Involvement in the work of Teachers' Assocs. at local or national level				18.4		
Membership of prof. (academic) bodies				18.5		
Membership of Examining Boards				18.6		
Any other work of a similar nature				18.7		
Any other part-time or holiday work				18.8		

(Probe each from present: At previous stages in your career, have any of these taken up a significant proportion of your personal time?)

(Probe: Why do you think that a teacher might undertake such work? Why did you undertake this work?)

Reasons comment:

19.1. Are you regularly involved in any major out-of-school activities for your school? What? How many?

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Comment:

19.1

19.2. Do you take a major part in organizing these? What? How many?

Comment:

19.2

19.3. In what way do such activities affect your chances of promotion?
Very favourably/Favourably/Not at all/Unfavourably/Very unfavourably

19.3

20. How do you feel about the allocation of your time between teaching/classroom activities and other, administrative, activities?

Much too much administration		20.
Too much administration		
About right		
Too much teaching		
Much too much teaching		

Notes

[1] LYONS, G. (1974). *The Administrative Tasks of Head and Senior Teachers in Large Secondary Schools.* Bristol: University of Bristol.

Chapter 3

Timetables, maps, strategies and sponsorship

I am still rather wide eyed and innocent when I hear about the possibilities. The staff room is a good place to hear what education has to offer and what its limitations are.

Q. *Is this really the case?*

There is an interplay between all the basic concepts outlined in the first chapter in any examination of teachers' careers: the ideas of career stages, of timetables produced by observation of peers; strategies or purposiveness encapsulated in the idea of a map of career; the accumulation of valuables; the different careers and the corresponding values associated with the careers available to teachers in the comprehensive school; these are all interrelated and interreacting. Let us initially, however, attempt to focus principally upon career strategies and maps as a way of beginning to understand the differences in career perceptions, and hence of career behaviour, in this sample of teachers.

The career perceptions and strategies for arriving at desired goals which are held by different teachers can be oversimplified. For all teachers many factors, both intrinsic to the teaching situation and extrinsic, in the form of personal, family and wider social events, will necessarily constrain the perceptions and the strategies which will be adopted. The same general perceptions and strategies may appear to be widely different according to the time scale in which they are placed, and to the basic values which the teacher holds of his career in education. At first the teacher seems to have reached his goal; some

are later surprised by the reality.

> When you first start teaching you are trained and qualified, teaching is an end in itself;
>
> In those days one went into teaching and one taught, and one thought that the powers that be would appreciate worth and would get some sort of promotion;
>
> Initially I believed that if I worked hard I'd get there, but realized that its got nothing to do with it. You must be pushy, bring yourself to attention and have the right contacts.

Thus there seem to be fundamental differences between teachers in their views of their careers. There are those who go to college knowing they want to be teachers, seeing no further, and those who realize that they should do something about achieving promotion, but are not certain what to do:

> After 3-4 years in a school you become aware of the differentials in the pay scale and you can't realize how to get one — what is expected of you to get a scale post? How is your value assessed? Sometimes you can see no way of advancement, you have to fight for existence on a scale — there is no interest in or recognition for what you do.

and those who know exactly what to do:

> Picked it up very quickly, then talked my way on.
>
> As soon as I realized that my peers were moving up a scale, I then realized what it was all about.

Clearly there are many permutations on these themes and particularly those mediated by time and by the sex of the teacher, but there is also at least one other more important subgroup — that is those teachers whose ambition is not expressed in this way and do not accept this formulation of success.

The sample of teachers had been asked about their career expectations to ascertain how clearly they perceived what they wanted from their career in teaching, and how they might go about accomplishing it. It was surmised that teachers would possibly have formulated some sort of conceptual 'map' of their future careers; and that this map would exist in various forms for various age groups and so on. Those with more experience, for instance, might be expected to show a better formulated and realistic perception than those just entering teaching. It was also noted that students trained as physical

education teachers are acquainted during their training with the need for them to switch from PE to other specialisms, or to teach their subsidiary subject, as they get older and less physically agile; and many young women entering teaching do so evidently with the knowledge that they may leave to have a family, and are aware of the need to familiarize themselves with the problems of returning to teaching after raising their family.

In order to investigate the extent and nature of teachers' perceptions of their careers, interviewed teachers were asked:

(a) Is there a time when a teacher sees clearly the career opportunities in education?
(b) If yes . . . when did you see this?

The extensive responses to these questions were originally coded into the following eight categories:

1. Still don't know.
2. A gradual awakening.
3. Had a clear map of career from start.
4. 'Career' map acquired from a particular post.
5. 'Career' map acquired from a particular school.
6. 'Career' map acquired from a particular event (e.g., So and so said . . .)
7. 'Career' map acquired from school reorganization (comprehensivization)
8. 'Career' map acquired because of necessity (financial reasons, etc.)

This categorization proved too complex, however, because of the difficulty in distinguishing between events 4 to 8. The categories were then collapsed into three, designated: *Map always, Map acquired, Map never.*

The results were as follows:

	Map always		**Map never**		**Map acquired**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Men	22	31	30	43	18	26
Women	10	20	29	57	12	23
Total	32	26.4	59	48.8	30	24.8

Table 3.1 (one teacher failed to answer this question)

A shorter version of this table appears in LYONS, G. (1976). *Heads' Tasks.* Windsor: NFER Publishing Company.

Just under half of the sampled teachers had no clear perception of their career goal and the method of attaining it. Just over a quarter had a clear perception of the pattern they wished to follow right from the time when they started teaching; and just under a quarter had started teaching without such a career pattern, but at some subsequent point had acquired one. The difference between men and women in this respect is not significant.

Map possession was also examined in relation to the post held, in Table 3.2[1], and to age, Table 3.3[2].

How Far Down the Line Can One See?

It is apparent that the proportion of those who are *Map acquired* increases markedly with age, as might be expected, and the proportion of those who are *Map always* decreases with age. (This is perhaps a function of changing career patterns for teachers generally over the post-war period and possibly it indicates that a greater proportion of young teachers may be entering the profession with their career map already defined.) However, the most common method by which such maps are acquired seems to be a 'gradual cognisance' of the possibilities that lie ahead, and these possibilities seem to be structured in terms of a limited time span.

> You have to feel your way a step at a time;

The teacher can:

> learn a lot from other people, absorb what's going on around you.

> It was when I began to swear under my breath 'Christ, I could do better than he does ... so applied for two i/c on grounds of — well, why shouldn't I do as they have ... was refused, so thought, if they felt like that I'd try elsewhere.

While gradualism may confer clear benefit it also seems as if a considerable number of years can be spent acquiring a dawning sense of awareness.

> The near future is mapped out by what happens to one's colleagues and the far distant future is a vague hope;

> Never was career conscious, never asked for it, was given a scale 2 post and suddenly occurred to me that I could achieve something.

> In the last year I began to think about it and decided I wanted to be an area organizer — I saw I'd made the department work about a year ago and felt I could make other things work.

One man, second in charge of a department who had five years' teaching experience commented that he:

> Saw possibilities about now after 4-5 years' teaching, not perfectly clear but these years of experience helped. Ideas have changed so much over the last four years and may do so again — now I think of a head of department, but later, the admin. side may appeal — I don't want to be involved in bureaucracy, but envisaged developing; when have done all I can do as head of department, I'll want a new challenge.

A group of teachers who are late entrants to the profession, having had another career first, appear to have a similar early perception and practical reinforcement for their career maps, although the fact of their late entrance may curtail the extent of their ambitions.

> I became aware of the career prospects at college, because I was older — young people do not become interested for some time. I saw it because after other jobs you can see where things are leading: at my age with a family etc. one needs to assess the prospects. I'm obviously not going to be a head teacher, but I have a good hope of getting to scale 4.

The special problems of female members of the teaching profession are dealt with in a later section; it is of interest here, however, to note the following two examples of female teachers, both of whom have clear maps of their careers, and are thus similar to the examples so far given, but whose intentions are widely different from each other:

> I clearly saw the possibilities before I took this post, and expected to use this school as a springboard to bigger things.
>
> I'm not ambitious, I know the career opportunities. I married young so I'm not concerned with promotion. I only take jobs because they are available where my husband moves to — no job preference, any local school will suit me.

The gradualism by which a career viewpoint is acquired can have numerous stimuli, and it often appears that a span of awareness may be infinitely extendable. The very perception that rank allows entails an advantage to more senior teachers and a considerable restriction on the viewpoints of the newly qualified.

At the start, the teacher, it appeared, is unlikely to be aware of the range of alternatives which a career within education affords. In fact, one problem appears to be that a mechanism to publicize this picture

to every teacher does not appear to exist.

> Last year a friend was accepted as a deputy house head and this is the only clue I've had as to how to get there;
>
> A junior teacher has little idea how anyone gets promotion, they just haven't heard of it or thought about it.

Many, as we shall see, fail to comprehend the range of career strategies until the opportunity of grasping them has passed. A rapid assessment of a definable and fulfillable goal is a necessity, and is the hallmark of those who achieve rapid promotion. A consequence of holding a piecemeal view of a career is that the identification of an ultimate destination may accrue at the same time as the knowledge that it is no longer possible to satisfy the necessary conditions of entrance to the post.

> Happy in my own job so I didn't think about it. After 17 years the change of head made one think and look around. I discovered I have stayed too long in places and could have got further if I had moved more. I regret now that it didn't occur to me.

We begin to see, then, that teachers hold maps and enact strategies with varying degrees of clarity and success; that they acquire information as they can, usually in a fragmented way, principally through observation of their colleagues, thus providing themselves with both a motivation and a timetable. We can also see how inaccurately perceived cues and timetables may cause the teacher to miss the opportunity of promotion. It is apparent that while the near future has some clarity, the distant future is, for many teachers, a vague hope. Let us now examine the teachers' maps and strategies from the viewpoint of their ultimate career goals, looking at the causes of promotion-seeking and how these influence their perceptions of maps, timetables and strategies.

The pursuit of advancement in itself is not a sufficient explanation for the careers of all teachers, nor does it adequately account for the motivation underlying the progress of a teacher. Some teachers may have a clear idea of the ultimate post to which they aspire, others can only see the next post. For many the difference between the next and the ultimate post may be profound and their goals must be constantly redefined as events change their circumstances and as they obtain more information about available opportunities and the content of specified posts. The sampled teachers were asked what they saw as their ultimate goals — the jobs they would like to be doing before retirement. The responses to this question are given in Table 3.4.

	N	%
Top posts (in school)	26	21.3
Multi-goal	23	18.9
Other educational	21	17.2
Terminal	19	15.6
Don't know	13	10.7
Mid Posts (in school)	11	9.0
Non-educational	7	5.7
Scale 1/Graded posts (in school)	2	1.6

Table 3.4. Teachers' ultimate goals

This table also appears in LYONS, G. (1976). *Heads' Tasks.* Windsor: NFER Publishing Company.

This table reveals that just over a fifth of the sampled teachers were aiming for top posts in comprehensive schools. It is apparent that the number of teachers who hold such posts in the country cannot compare with anything like this proportion of teachers in general. Indeed in the schools which contributed to the sample the ratio of more junior to top posts was about 17:1, and it is against this background (of fierce competition) that the discussion must be set.

Just under a fifth of teachers interviewed were categorized from the point of view of their ambitions as being *multigoal.* These were teachers who were unable at the time of the interviews to decide between two or more clearly visualized goal positions:

> I could become a headmaster or I might go into a college as a lecturer.

For such people it appears that the crystallizing factors that will enable them to make the final decision have not manifested themselves so far, and it is an important aspect of the position of such teachers that they necessarily feel that their experience to date has been of a nature that will fit them equally for whichever of their goals they finally choose. This subsequently proved to be an important concept in demonstrating how the ambitious attempt to ensure that they do not become blocked at any one particular career stage.

Seventeen per cent of the interviewed teachers had ambitions which were classified as *Other educational.* These were teachers who wished to leave the sector of secondary education, and move into the Inspectorate, into institutions of higher or further education, to work

in local authority administration, in teachers' centres, or in special contexts such as reading clinics. It is interesting that the comprehensive sector should appear, on the grounds of this limited sample, to be able to provide so many potential recruits to these other areas of education.

Nineteen of the teachers regarded the post they held at the time of interview as being the last that they would hold before retiring — either because they were actually within one or two years of retirement, or because the posts which they currently held satisfied all their criteria of achievement, economic sufficiency, and job satisfaction.

Eleven of the teachers interviewed were unable to make any precise statement about where their ultimate ambitions lay. These teachers are distinguished from those categorized as *multigoal* by the fact that for them it is not a case of being unable to decide between alternative routes, but rather of being unable to perceive any route which they find attractive. Seven of the sampled teachers saw careers for themselves entirely outside education, and two of the teachers interviewed saw themselves as Scale 1 or Scale 2 teachers until their retirement.

There is, it has been shown above, a growing awareness of possibilities and an increasing definition of aim, as teachers climb the promotion ladder. It is also noticeable that, for Scale 1 Teachers, Mid Post is seen as an acceptable career goal, whereas Top Post is mentioned only by one such teacher — for those on Scale 2 or above, Top Post has overtaken Mid Post in popularity. This suggests that teachers' increase their ambitions step by step with their actual promotions.

Generally, a picture emerges of the young teacher at the beginning of his career, uncertain as to the goals to which he may reasonably aspire. He may have some idea of the type of post he wishes to hold ultimately, but be unable to choose between various possible goals. If he does choose, he will apparently set his sights low on the educational ladder. As he gains experience and his first promotion, however, the path ahead becomes clearer. When he reaches the top he may find that there are other, higher peaks beyond, to which he may aspire. The latter point was one of crucial relevance to those who achieve a headship in their thirties and ask themselves what they may expect from the post for another twenty or thirty years.

One extremely articulate young man, a Scale 1 teacher who had taught at the time of interview for two years, gave an account of his

perception of his own possible career which may exemplify the situation of the teacher at the start of his career. He gave, as his ultimate goal, a County Education Officer or a County Science Adviser, and envisaged the steps towards these possible goals as follows:

> Second in charge of department at present school next September, (an appointment already confirmed at the time of interview), after that, I would move to a Scale 3 head of department, and then head of faculty. After that, I'm not sure — HMI? a higher degree? Head of Section?

He went on to expatiate on the various factors which he saw as influencing his career prospects:

> I personally don't see awfully clearly. I came into teaching expecting to get on. I hope to be here another 3 years and then go to a Scale 4 (anywhere — I don't care). I must get as far as I can in my first ten years of teaching, wherever it takes me in the country. When I entered teaching, I dismissed the academic way up, as I have a BEd, not a BA. But I am the best qualified person in our department as it happens — there is a shortage of teachers of my subject here. I'm really most qualified to rise on the pastoral side, with my degree; but it's an older man's domain — they make X who's been here for 10 years the head of section. But in subject departments, they look for someone younger, so my route up is through the subject. Looking around me now, I see for example my head of department who got his post by being the only applicant, but who with his experience and qualifications will be here for the rest of his life. Similarly, by the time I get to head of the faculty, I don't know if I'd be qualified enough to try for a deputy headship, I'd need a higher degree if I want to go via a deputy headship — then I might, on the other hand, go to a different county and go up via middle schools — it depends on how things work out.

This teacher's grasp on the possibilities ahead of him is to a large extent due to his uncommon orientation towards teaching itself. Whereas many teachers seek first of all the fulfilment of their pupil-centred motivations towards the profession, this teacher points out:

> I regard myself as a teacher, but not as a subject teacher. I enjoy education rather than teaching, and I'd like administration. After all, what I want is a successful career.

We shall see later how such teachers refine the maps they hold and make them more accurate.

Although the teacher who seeks advancement from the start, and is always interested in his career possibilities, appeared from this sample to be not uncommon, some active seeking for promotion is to be found in most teachers. There are various reasons for this, arising both out of the school situation and the family or wider social circumstances. For some teachers promotion appears to be necessary to satisfy the motives which brought them into teaching. A teacher whose expressed motives for entry included *Wanting a job with contact with people* said:

> I want to be a house head — I like the contact with pupils and parents — I could go round to see the parents if the kid gets sick.

The spur to seeking promotion may come from some alteration in school circumstances. Such an alteration caused this teacher to become aware of possibilities for promotion:

> I realize what my path should be when the house system was introduced here, and I saw that I would like it. I discovered I could do the (then) senior mistress's job after I had been in pastoral work for a couple of years.

The introduction of curricular change can also open up possibilities that were not previously available:

> At college, I found that in . . . teaching no-one gets more than a Scale 2 post, it's not a subject that goes to Scale 3 or 4; but now . . . has been added, the prospects are better — I can become head of department, teach to A level and have a Scale 4 allowance.

For some teachers the impulse to seek further promotion may result from the experience of having taken on one job successfully; they now wish to achieve more:

> I learned my job there, at the last school, and moved when I felt I could give no more there, and was confident enough to implement my own ideas and take responsibility.

Perhaps the most common reason which causes teachers to seek promotion is the need for more money; a succinct example of such a motivation is:

> I wanted a new car and thought 'Where can I get more money?' — I sought promotion and got it.

Classically teachers become aware that they are in a position to be promoted as a result of observation of their contemporaries:

> In this school I have seen young people, short in experience, getting ahead, and I realized that you can if you push.

I hate being passed by younger men.

I was for two years an assistant, and content. The 2 i/c became head of department so I applied for 2 i/c, and was refused: so I left and got my present post. I never was more ambitious nor more confident.

The observation of one's colleagues may also lead to a desire for promotion as a result of feeling that you could do the job better than them:

The head here has no idea of how to get money out of the county, so I thought I'd like to learn some internal politics. I applied last year for an administrative assistant's job in another LEA — it's better money, but really in order to see how administration works. But I gave up the idea because I am scared that I'd never get back into the classroom.

This last teacher's remark illustrates an important area of concern in the profession, one which may have serious implications of unrealized potential, and even cause teachers to leave more senior positions to regain classroom contact:

I did a very important job, and realized I had potentialities and could go ahead. I had a spell as a head teacher (abroad), and didn't like it because I lost contact with the children.

He changed jobs and teaches now 'for relaxation'.

A point already raised several times is the importance, for the teacher with an eye on his career, of gaining promotion from the first job as rapidly as possible:

You have to be on the trot at an early age to look for promotion.

Sponsorship

By implication, this last point raises the need for strategies for career progression. For some teachers this means sponsorship. The idea of sponsorship is, although widely adopted in other occupations, anathema to the education profession. What we are interested in here is, of course, not canvassing for recruitment, but the enhancement of promotion prospects.

On the one hand the head teacher with responsibility for maintaining and developing his school, needs to identify and motivate those members of his staff who will help him in this. He has, in fact, the wider responsibility to the education service, of training

and developing staff who will be running schools when he has retired, as do other LEA officers. On the other hand some staff members ambitious for promotion, will attempt to shorten the odds and increase their chances of promotion by gaining sponsors. They draw themselves to the attention of those who can help their career.

Let us consider how this might occur, and consider a little further those strategies teachers adopt to obtain sponsors and to be sponsored.

Some supporting information was acquired incidentally from other research carried out at the same time with the same sample of teachers. It was a pilot investigation of communication patterns in the school.[3] Members of staff interviewed had been asked to indicate with whom they communicated every day, every week, every term, in carrying out the administrative work of a school. The contact was to be specific; a particular colleague (or colleagues) must have been sought out. Thus a deputy head issuing a weekly calendar to the entire staff was not judged for this purpose to have contacted all members of the staff in a week. If contacts were purely social contacts, insofar as any contacts can be purely for social reasons within an organization, then such contacts were also excluded.

One would expect that those teachers who hold the highest positions in schools would be the most frequent communicators, because such posts inevitably entail the heaviest administrative load. In general this hypothesis was found to be substantiated. It is equally apparent that the most junior members of staff in a school might be expected to be the lowest communicators, since they carry the lightest administrative load, their work relating more narrowly and exclusively to the curricular and pastoral aspects of their own pupils. The difference in size of communication load carried between senior and junior staff was in fact found to be statistically significant at the 0.1% level.[4]

It is of interest, therefore, to examine the responses made by any teacher whose communication score deviated from an expected norm: a senior member of staff who does not appear in the top quartile of a school's communication profile, or a junior member of staff who appears amongst the highest communicators. It is very tentatively suggested that those with an unexpectedly high communication score are possibly displaying a motivation and one aspect of an ability to display publicly their acceptance of the goals of that organization; it is perhaps also likely that they are making themselves visible.

From the original sample of 122 teachers, 31 teachers were separated as top communicators (i.e. the top quartile). Of these, 12 occupied top posts, (head teacher, deputies, head of section, etc.) and 19 teachers who appeared in this group had communication scores that showed a departure from the scores of their peers. The groups thus formed were subjected to statistical and qualitative analysis of their responses.[5]

When the career ambitions of these sub-groups of the total sample were examined in greater detail it was apparent that those whose communication scores were notably higher than expected were more likely than other teachers to have a clear idea of that senior position in school for which they were ultimately aiming.

There can obviously be many reasons why an individual's communication score would diverge from the norm of his peers. Some of the many factors which might influence an individual's contribution towards the volume of communication are: the physical characteristics of a school; the organizational hierarchies; the formal or informal nature of the position occupied in an organization, the personality attributes of the person concerned; and his perception of the efficiency of the organization.

It should not, however, be taken as axiomatic that high communicators are automatically more promotable than their colleagues who do not have the same volume of communication. It can be no more than one index of the individual's motivation or, perhaps, capacity for work. It must of course also be assumed that work within the organization is proceeding at a normal pace and that there is no unusual movement afoot. If the above is found to be substantiated then there is a possible corollary; those whose communication scores deviate below an expected level for those holding similar positions, may well be exhibiting characteristics of less than successful performance in the office they occupy — although this is not a line of inquiry we shall pursue here.

Of the 'higher than expected' communicators, those markedly ambitious for a top post in a school appeared to fit a characteristic pattern: they were young, held Scale 2 or Scale 3 post and expressed very positive opinions.

> I would like to get to the top of my profession;
>
> It's not like going to work on a Monday morning, I like the work so much;
>
> Schools are always varying, there is no risk of boredom.

Some of those interviewed displayed a clear idea of how to obtain promotion and the steps that they should take at each stage. They showed themselves to be eager and ambitious and to have a strong sense of commitment and involvement both to the school and to the local community, they were participants and embryonic organizers. Among their many extra-curricular activities there would probably have been at least one that they organized themselves. They showed a similar organizing capacity towards extra-mural activities; they were, in fact, likely to think that such activities helped promotion prospects.

Although some of these high communicators held comparatively junior posts in a school, the frequency with which they made contact with the headteacher, deputy head and other senior members of staff, in comparison with such contacts made by their peers, seemed quite marked. Certainly there was an aspect of behaviour that could be described as 'organizational visibility'. One teacher summed this up as follows:

> To be responsible for the school play, which causes much disruption to all members of staff and to the school, is not as good as being the announcer on the one day of the school sports.

One naturally assumes that the task is done well!

Next we can look at some of the other ploys and strategies which the teachers adopted to draw themselves to the attention of those who could affect their promotion prospects, to give themselves visibility, to gain sponsors. Demonstrations of organizational loyalty and commitment are essential.

> If you can say that you're willing, it goes down as a good mark for you — and is often a deciding factor.
>
> One feels that one's in a dedicated job and to seek promotion one has to be seen to be a dedicated person to get on — a willing horse — you get things to do.

Contribute to school life and get recognized by people who matter. A certain animal cunning does not come amiss:

> I've already begun to make moves towards promotion — to be in the right place at the right time — a matter of subtlety.

In-service education and extramural activities provide a convenient vehicle for the ambitious to expose their promotability.

> You don't go on in-service courses to learn anything, you go so you can put it on an application form to give yourself

visibility;

Go on courses run by HMI — get known and you are halfway there;

Courses are important to meet the right people: advisers, lecturers, LEA administration officers and education officers. I attend a course once each year, to which both the CEO and his deputy go.

Definitely helps promotion, the more that goes in the shop window the better it looks. When it comes to short-listing it pulls you to the top of the pile.

A characteristic of those seeking sponsorship is their political acumen and their instinctive understanding of what the head, or whoever is in authority, thinks: the courtier is unlikely to follow a course of action of which the king disapproves. This raises, in an interesting way, the very real danger of misreading the clues which are available and so adopting an incorrect course of action, for, whilst the ambitious and successful are willing to take calculated risks, others have fears about the gamble.

It's better to stay at a school you know, you might be up against worse factors; and promotion is never guaranteed — you might not get ahead there;

Is it safe to stay here on scale — HM will offer if I promise to stay here and not apply, or risk the hope of a bigger scale elsewhere?

Other teachers flounder from a lack of substantial information about the real situation.

(Music) is not really accepted in the school; they pay homage but thats all; exam subjects are everything in this school, you don't count if you aren't churning out regular O and A level results. *I*, therefore, will never get on here.

Other teachers achieve sponsorship without seeking it.

I realized the career opportunities in training college, but I have changed my views. I intended to climb straight up but in my second year there the head sent for me and said 'If you want to get anywhere, you've got to go. We don't want to lose you but you must move . . .' so I looked for a remedial job, and this was vacant so I took it. Now I just don't know — I'm still turning it over.

Within this frame of reference such influence may be of seminal importance.

> An LEA Inspector directed my mind to being a head teacher — hadn't thought about it before and I was happy in my work, and after the War wanted more time and felt there was time. Promotion thoughts would have come later if left to myself — wasn't interested in early advancement;
>
> Was teaching P/T when ——— said 'by the way, there's a full time post here, I think you ought to apply'.
>
> ... when I was advised by an LEA adviser who directed my mind to being ———. 'You ought to be planning your future. Start now for getting ahead'.

One should not overlook either the influence of the head of department, who can begin a training process for a junior member of staff that leads to subsequent promotion. Such opportunities are available throughout the school.

We can further illustrate the role of timetables, maps, strategies and sponsorship in teacher career behaviour by looking at the careers of the male top post teachers in this sample. Although only a numerically small sample of teachers, it seems, however, that their career behaviour both exemplifies and demonstrates the concepts we have been examining.

The 11 male teachers in the sample now holding top posts (headteacher, deputy head, head of upper/middle/lower school, director of studies) were all graduates. The reasons they gave at interview for having chosen teaching as a profession were various, and not noticeably different from those given by other interviewed teachers; it is worth noting however that the two youngest top post teachers had not originally thought of teaching as their future career.

These teachers claim to have realized the possibilities ahead at an early stage of their careers:

> I picked up the career possibilities very quickly. My first grammar school post was the right thing for me to do at the time, it gave me sixth form and examination experience, and then I talked my way onwards.
>
> My grammar school head expected staff to be young, to stay for 2-3 years, and then be promoted away: it was the pattern of the school.

Specifically, their aim in the early stages was a headship of a department, by their timetables, within the first five years of teaching. All the top post males in the sample achieved this, and several emphasized its importance:

> When you enter the profession, you come in wanting to do a good job, and you don't look 10 years ahead. The ambitious want to be a head of department within five years. After four years I started applying for the post and got it after five.

Having gained the post of head of department, the sampled top post teachers took different routes: some moved to take a larger department or to a larger school, some became a head of house in a comprehensive, and one became a lecturer in a college of education. For all of them, however, there appears to be a consensus of opinion that it was (then) unwise to stay in a median post for more than another five years.

'Don't stay here for more than four years' warned one, and a general comment from another was:

> Length of teaching service is irrelevant; length of service in a particular school is irrelevant: those who get promoted are those who jump from job to job.

The 122 sampled teachers had received 180 promotions between them. Of these, 66 teachers had received at least one promotion internally, i.e. from a junior to a senior post in the same school, and 56 had received promotions externally, i.e. from a junior post in one school to a more senior post in another school; some of these teachers of course had received both internal and external promotions. However, teachers now holding top posts show a higher rate of promotion between schools than within schools when compared with the remainder of the promoted sample.

An implication of this finding is that the teachers in mid or graded posts are more likely than top post teachers to have been promoted within schools. This suggests that a characteristic of top post teachers is their willingness to move schools to further their careers; not all the top post teachers, however, have manifested this willingness by actually moving schools for promotion — what seems more important is that state of mind which makes such movement possible.

Seven of the top post males undertook degree or diploma awarding courses of further professional study. The courses taken were usually Masters degrees in their own subject, and were undertaken partly from an interest in the subject, and partly from the point of view of improving their career prospects:

> I took a part-time MA at the ———— Institute of Education mainly for career reasons. I saw in my probationary year that I needed this type of qualification: others were doing courses and

I realized that it was the thing to have done — but I did get interested in it!

Last year I took a diploma in curricular studies, both for things that are immediately valuable and for things that will be valuable in the future. I used to think that one of the reasons for not getting interviews was because I had a funny (non-honours) degree, and having no professional qualification was a disadvantage. Things are better now.

The pressure of ambition is perhaps strongest at this point in the top post man's career. The eleven such teachers in the sample achieved their first top posts after, on average, ten years of teaching (the range was from 6 to 14 years), and they are generally aware of a sense of urgency:

You have to be a deputy head by the time you're 35, otherwise you're too late.

I realize that I need to be a head teacher by the time I am 38-40 otherwise I will have failed.

Until they were appointed to top posts these teachers had been heavily involved in extra-curricular and extra-mural activities, often with the specific intention of improving their career prospects:

Extra-curricular activities have a very favourable effect on promotion — they show a readiness to give of yourself to the school outside prescribed limits.

Once having achieved a top post, however, these activities seem, for a variety of reasons, to go by the board.

I used to organize a lot of clubs and societies for the kids, but I don't any longer — there's just so much other pressure on my time.

Of course, these things help a lot up to the stage of deputy head. After that, you shouldn't be too involved in any one thing.

Having reached the goal of a top post at the age of, say, 35, most of the sampled teachers found their possible futures problematic, and seemed unsure as to what they might do for the rest of their working lives. Two of the older teachers, due shortly to retire, had been headmasters of more than one school and this is a line which appeals to some of the younger ones:

I certainly want to be a head, but may then want to go on and I don't know to what. Will later have to decide to go for a

second headship until I retire or to branch off in my career (i.e. into LEA administration or college or university.

It has not been the intention to paint a picture which shows teachers as inordinately ambitious or, even, more ambitious than those in other employment sectors. There can be many reasons for a teacher to seek promotion and to change jobs. For example, amongst the able and ambitious, some will require new challenges:

> Learned the job there (at his last school) but moved when I felt I could give no more there, and confident that I was able to implement my own ideas and take responsibility.

At the other extreme is the man who

> never was ambitious. Just let things happen. Never set out to be a head of department. But if ever offered it — would accept.

In the discussion above, there has been no intention to minimize the complexity of the issues which are involved. It is clearly possible that there may be teachers who have never had any conception of how to develop a career, and perhaps never will have; and equally possible that staff in schools, who may have a well-developed perception of how a career might be planned, should reject the application of this plan to themselves. Two heads of department illustrate this:

> A cut and dried future and goal moves are not for me;
>
> It's a pity you have to leave a school to further your career. I wouldn't. It's not worth moving for a few extra pennies.

Moreover, one head explained that he regretted each time he changed jobs 'because of the loyalties and commitment there'.

Certainly for some of these teachers luck has played a considerable part in the promotion they have achieved. Among those holding top posts are examples of people who were in the right place at the right time. Certainly in the early days of secondary school comprehensivization those with experience of working in comprehensive schools, particularly at managerial levels, had enhanced opportunities of promotion.

Although those who perceive the need for a strategy and a map place themselves in a better position than those without this perception, there is also the need, as we shall see in more detail later, to ensure that their ultimate career goals are always kept flexible enough to ensure that the individuals exit from a particular career stage is not blocked.

Many of the opinions a teacher has about his career seem to be picked up through observation of his significant peers and we have

seen how the clues available can be misinterpreted — the folklore of the staff room might not provide a true description of what occurs.

In the next section we can examine the information provided by this sample of teachers, which allows us to see how the teacher moves between career stages.

NOTES

1.

	Map always		Map never		Map acquired	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Scale 1 posts	7	32	14	64	1	4
Graded post	9	28	15	47	8	25
Mid Post	11	22	24	47	16	31
Top Post	5	31	6	38	5	31
Total	32	26.4	59	48.8	30	24.8

Table 3.2

It is interesting to note that the proportion of teachers who are 'Map Never' is highest for Scale 1 and lowest for Top Post teachers.

2.

	Map always		Map never		Map acquired	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age 21-25	8	42	9	47	2	11
Age 26-35	13	34	16	42	9	24
Age 36-45	8	28	13	45	8	28
Age 46+	3	9	21	60	11	31
Total	32	26.4	59	48.8	30	24.8

Table 3.3

3.
Part of this work is reported in LYONS, G. (1974). *The Administrative Tasks of Head and Senior Teachers in Large Secondary Schools*, a report to the DES. Examples of the proformas used and the types of communication diagrams that were produced are also to be found there.

4.
LYONS, G. (1975) *Teacher Careers*. Report to the Department of Education and Science. Bristol: University of Bristol.

5.

	High Communicators	All Others
Professed ambition for a top post	13	14
Professed other ambition	18	77
$x^2 = 9.458$	$p<0.01$	

Table 3.5

This table also appears in LYONS, G. (1976). *Heads' Tasks*. Windsor: NFER Publishing Company.
This matrix yields a chi-square value of 9.458, significant at the 1% level. It should be noted that 'Ambition for a top post' means a *named* senior post in a secondary school, and that 'Other ambitions' may include those who were unable to decide between alternative senior posts in schools.

Chapter Four

Career stages and gate-keeping devices

What is versus *what is thought to be* the case

The view postulated by Everett Hughes, that a career is composed of stages sequentially arranged, was raised at the beginning of this work. It was suggested that there are sets of interrelated questions which could be posed about careers in teaching as a consequence of this perspective: how many stages the (individual) teacher thought there were, and which to him had the greatest significance; where he found information of the necessary conditions for entry to, and exit from, each stage — and so forth. We have seen already that teachers differ in the degree to which they employ maps of their careers, and enact strategies which are related to the 'reality' of the career structure they perceive. It seems to follow, therefore, that discrepancies might well exist, unless documentary or other objective evidence is commonly available, between the folklore of the staffroom — what teachers think or say is necessary to obtain promotion — and how the educational system as an employer appears to act. In short, whom does it promote and why? Necessarily, as we saw earlier from the concepts developed by Roth, there was a constant testing out on the part of the teachers in the sample, a measuring of what is occurring, as the conditions (in this case for promotion) change over time, due to factors both internal and external to the school. It is the existence of this mechanism, and the fact that teachers have different ideas of what is occurring, which we are interested in exploring further here.

Let us examine this issue more closely then — by looking at some of those factors which the 'folklore' of the staffroom suggests are aids or hindrances to career development and promotion, to see what the views of this group of teachers on such factors were, and also upon the gate-keeping devices existing between stages. We can then, where

information is available, compare these views, with what appeared to be the case. We shall also begin to see the effects of Becker's formulations, of 'commitment,' 'side bets' or the 'accumulation of advantages' or 'valuables', as a way of understanding potential restrictions to career mobility and hence promotability. We shall also see that views seem to be widely held which do not fit the emerging picture of the relevant sequencing through career stages to future promotion or of the relevant career timetables. Some of the descriptions given bore no relation to the reality of who got on, who was promoted, and why. A number of teachers here imagined, for example, that a primary headship was for them a fulfillable goal. One teacher found to his surprise that the interruptions to the stages and the timetable of his career through having worked abroad was a disadvantage, and, as he went on to complain with some bitterness, '. . . realized how stereotyped the system was in moulding its members. You must be a good boy, or showily avant-garde. You must conform and be dull'. The consequences of misreading or misunderstanding the 'clues' can be profound in terms of personal dissatisfaction or unhappiness. Even the advice of those occupying a position of some authority might appear on the surface to be a little questionable; a head of department related, 'I'm applying for deputy headships but I'm told (by an education officer) I should apply for a small school and then work up since I don't have the requisite paper qualifications'. It is, of course, important to know exactly what the advice was meant to convey, but we shall see later in this chapter whether such advice, if followed, is likely to prove successful.

As has been indicated earlier, the comprehensive school appears to be closely associated with the change in career structure and opportunities occurring in the post-war era for the secondary teacher. While the new system was emerging and crystallizing, ambivalence and ambiguity probably existed in some quarters as to the necessary conditions, qualifications and experience, a teacher should display to occupy a given level of post in a school. During the emergence of the comprehensive sector it is possible that some posts appear to have been filled as a political trade-off, in order to obtain teacher's goodwill towards the far-reaching changes being made. Where guidelines and procedures were not clear, where those with the relevant and necessary experience were very thin on the ground, some of the prizes would go to those who were quick off the mark, the risk-takers, the adventurers or gamblers referred to by Hughes (see the Introduction).

It now seems that a bureaucratic career structure exists in the comprehensive school and progression through the stages is almost inevitably related to age and experience (as we saw earlier, the

timetables dictating the rate of progression and the ages for occupancy of the different stages form separate although related issues). As the teacher is aware, there are junior posts, mid posts most appropriately categorized here as posts at head of department level, and top posts, principally heads and deputies. The posts are thus hierarchically arranged and equated with salary. The issues with which we are concerned are, firstly, the degree to which the teacher perceives the structure as a constraint upon his action and then, how the teacher moves between stages, or finds out how such moves could be accomplished, what he believes will help and hinder, opportunities for his promotion to the various levels of post, and so forth. Secondly; we shall compare these beliefs with the information available about the apparent behaviour of the education system towards this group of teachers; the necessary conditions for movement between stages; the gate-keeping devices used to hold some teachers at their present levels and to promote others to more senior positions, and so forth. The task for those who want to achieve promotion was thus to recognize their location in career stages and timetable terms to diagnose the necessary conditions for movement to the next (and ensuing) stage(s), to take stock of their assets measured against the attributes they need in order to move to the next or subsequent career stage, and then to begin the task of preparing and presenting themselves as suitable candidates — if they so wish, for not all who can recognize the game would choose to play it.

The Folklore of Promotion

To begin the examination of such issues, let us turn first to the views held by this sample of teachers of those factors influencing promotion prospects. The sampled teachers were presented with a list of factors which might be thought to have some influence on promotion, and asked to tick those which were 'relevant', and those which were 'very important'. In the following discussion, only those items ticked as 'very important' are considered, since most teachers ticked most items as being 'relevant'.

Table 4.1 on p.66 shows the overall ranking of those items that the interviewed teachers felt to be of special importance in influencing promotion prospects for teachers in a similar position to themselves. In considering this list of factors affecting promotion, it would have been possible for each respondent to tick each item as being 'very important'. In fact, of the 3,904 items that the sampled teachers could have so designated, they ticked 835, giving an overall response rate of 21.4 per cent which suggests that, on average, each teacher ticked 7 items out of the 32. The original list consisted of 32 items, of which

numbers 1 to 31 were taken from a questionnaire designed for use in a survey conducted by S. Hilsum of the National Foundation for Educational Research.[1]

The four items chosen most often represent entirely different aspects of educational concern: *Familiarity with new ideas in education; Ability to control pupils; Experience in a variety of schools;* and *Being a graduate,* relating as they do to initial training, disciplinary ability, experience and pedagogic accomplishments.

Familiarity with new ideas in education represented 43.4 per cent of all choices made while *Participation in innovative practices* was selected by 29 teachers and represented 23.8 per cent of choices. It would appear that it might be more important to be aware of new educational thought than it is to practise it, although there might be a distinction being made between 'new' and 'innovative' — innovative perhaps being seen as necessarily disruptive!

The ranking of *Experience in a variety of schools* (third), and *willingness to move to other areas* (eleventh) seem to indicate that teachers were aware of current promotion patterns, particularly since *Being native to area where post advertised, Having taught in area where post advertised* and *Long service in a particular school* are rated so lowly, indicating that such attributes are regarded by this sample of teachers as either insufficient criteria for successful promotion or that they are and should be totally irrelevant to filling a post. That long service in a school should not automatically bestow promotion is a departure in some senses from the grammar school tradition with which a number of the interviewed teachers must have become familiar at the beginning of their careers. Other items could well indicate a degree of cynicism with the current promotion patterns: *Qualifications in a teacher shortage subject* ranked fifth overall and *Good relationships with the head* ranked eighth, although *Personal social contacts with people who can influence promotion* and *Conformity with views of advisers and/or inspectors* represent only 18.9 per cent and 12.3 per cent of choices made.

Many teachers had, in the course of interviews, expressed a belief that participation in extra-curricular activities influenced promotion prospects; the extent of this belief was confirmed when this opinion was ranked twelfth overall. The importance of *Administrative ability* was ranked tenth and was preceded by *Concern for welfare of individual pupils. Being younger than 40* was ranked only eighteenth, a viewpoint that has already been challenged for this sample, in the previous section.

	All teachers	N	%
1.	Familiarity with new ideas in education	53	43.4
2.	Ability to control pupils	52	42.6
3.	Experience in a variety of schools	47	38.5
4.	Being a graduate	45	36.9
5.	Qualification in a teacher-shortage subject	45	36.9
6.	Flexibility in teaching methods	44	36.1
7.	Expertise in a particular subject or method	43	35.2
8.	Good relationship with head	41	33.6
9.	Concern for individual pupil welfare	40	32.8
10.	Administrative ability	39	32.0
11.	Willingness to move to other areas	38	31.1
12.	Participation in extra-curricular activities	31	25.4
13.	Good relationship with other staff	30	24.6
14.	Participation in innovative practices	29	23.8
15.	Having a strong personality	28	23.0
16.	Attendance at in-service courses	26	21.3
17.	Length of teaching experience	24	19.7
18.	Being younger than 40	24	19.7
19.	Contacts with influential people	23	18.9
20.	Success with examination candidates	21	17.2
21.	Publications/textbooks etc.	19	15.6
22.	Conformity with inspectors' views	15	12.3
23.	Being native to area of post	11	9.0
24.	Participation in civic activities	11	9.0
25.	Being a man	10	8.2
26.	Having taught in area	10	8.2
27.	Experience outside Education	10	8.2
28.	Being a parent	8	6.6
29.	Experience in HE/FE etc.	8	6.6
30.	Long service in a particular school	4	3.3
31.	Being married	4	3.3
32.	Being a woman	2	1.6

Table 4.1 Factors influencing Promotion

A copy of the schedule teachers were asked to complete is included in Chapter 2. Certain questions are reformulated for ease of presentation.

In discussing these results with various groups of teachers, attention has been drawn many times to the cynicism, in their view, of the standpoints underlying the rankings given here.

The effects of initial training

The teachers interviewed in this survey reported their complete teaching history from the time of training to the time of interview. Table 4.2[2] shows numbers of graduate and non-graduate teachers whose first teaching appointments were in various types of schools. The results suggest that graduates were at least more likely to have taught first in grammar schools, and non-graduates in secondary moderns.

However, those teachers who have gone straight into comprehensive schools from training appear to be equally likely to be graduates as non-graduates.

Once the teachers had arrived in their first teaching posts, the difference between graduates and non-graduates was not slow in asserting itself.

Graduates then achieved their first promotion after an average of four years' teaching, whereas the non-graduates in the survey did not achieve this until a further $2\frac{1}{2}$ years had elapsed. Whilst the previous pattern of secondary education, and the related disposition of resources must account for, at least, some of this difference, whatever the explanation of this apparent difference, by this stage of their career many non-graduates will have become aware that they appear to be in a disadvantageous position with respect to their graduate peers.

> Bits of paper are unbelievably important in education. You **must** be a graduate to get on, above all else.

It will be noted (from Table 4.1 earlier) that *Being a graduate* is rated fourth most important of the various factors which might influence promotion favourably. Many non-graduate teachers, having made this discovery, were attempting to rectify the situation by attending degree- or diploma-awarding courses. It will be seen from Table 4.3[3] that, among the sampled teachers, non-graduates were more likely to have attended such courses than were graduates.

The reasons for such action are exemplified by the remarks of a young, non-graduate teacher who at the time of interview was doing an Open University degree:

> There are more and more BEd students, and a student with ordinary qualifications just won't get advancement. The Open University is the easiest way to a degree for a teacher because you get credits for teacher training.

Whether the obtaining of a degree at this stage in a career is or is not successful in negating the difference between graduate and non-graduate teachers is, on the evidence of the sampled teachers, questionable. When we tabulated the present posts held by graduates and non-graduates who have and have not attended courses of further professional training; it was clear that, for the non-graduates in this sample, doing courses had not significantly affected their present status. See Table 4.4[4].

It will be noted that, whereas for graduates, further qualifications appear to lead to higher posts, the status of our non-graduates remains apparently unaltered by these courses. As the following quotation shows, a particular qualification may not give enough impetus to promotion in comparison to other factors:

> Looking back, I'm not sure it was a good thing to do, but couldn't have done child guidance work without it. It hasn't moved me on the educational ladder as far as I wanted and expected — I should have shifted schools earlier.

One further point also becomes clear. In this sample of teachers, none of those holding top posts in schools were non-graduates. It is likely that the non-graduate teacher is limited in terms of the posts to which he may 'ultimately' aspire. However, this point will be examined in more detail in the next chapter, when we consider the school as a source of dissimilar careers.

Rate of Promotion

During the interviews, all teachers gave a brief account of their careers to date, and these were examined to discover at what stages in their careers teachers achieved promotion.

Looking at the rate at which teachers were promoted, it appeared that the average interval between promotions for this sample was 9½ years, although the very high standard deviation shows wide individual variations in this pattern. Male and female teachers appearing to be promoted at virtually the same rate. As with the rate of movement between schools, which is discussed later, the mean rate of promotion does not reflect a situation in which teachers are

promoted at a uniform rate throughout their careers. The examination of promotion rates of the different experience groups suggests that teachers were promoted faster at the beginning of their careers than they are later, although there are several complicating factors which may mitigate the significance of this finding:

1) Although all teachers start at the same level, the attainment of a post such as, say, head of science, may be reached by several different routes involving different numbers of promotion jumps, where the jumps themselves are of different magnitudes.
2) Promotions early in a career are commonly small ones, e.g., from Scale 1 to a Scale 2 allowance; whereas promotions later in a career may involve a much greater leap, e.g., from head of physics to deputy head.

When the rates of promotion of teachers are considered from the point of view of their present status, there is no significant difference between the groups, again because of the wide variance in each group. It is apparent, however, that although length of experience and status are closely related, 'top post' teachers appear to have arrived at their posts more rapidly than their mid post peers.

It seems then that the career of the average teacher is characterized by rapid, small promotions at the beginning of a career, and longer intervals later. For the teachers now holding top posts, however, it appears that the early rapid promotion rate is maintained for a longer period. The career profiles of the top group of teachers were referred to earlier and the importance of early and rapid promotion emphasized there. If such progress was not achieved, then there appeared to be a strong chance of the teacher falling behind in the normative based rate of progress, that is on the relevant timetable. This is one reason why teachers who become aware of their career possibilities relatively late in their teaching lives may in fact have become aware of an unattainable goal. This point effectively reinforces what we saw in the previous chapter of the way in which 'timetables' are generated.

In the discussion of the ultimate goals of the interviewed teachers, it was pointed out that the numbers of teachers mentioning similar goals implied fierce competition for these posts. Teachers themselves were aware that not all of them could achieve the posts they wished, and were asked to assess realistically their careers, and say what posts they actually expected to occupy at the time of their retirement. In the next chapter, which looks at teachers at the end of their careers,

some teachers gave, as the posts they expected to occupy on retirement, less senior positions than those they had previously mentioned as their ultimate goal.

A teacher who had given lecturing in a college of education as his ultimate goal accounted for his realistic expectation of ending up as a head of department thus:

> Will need to get experience in primary sector before I can move into a college of education, especially in my subject, where I think the difficulty lies between the ages of 7 and 11. But I'm now getting married, and I realize I shall be less willing to take a drop in salary for primary experience, so I shall probably end up as head of department here.

And a head of department revealed that his goal of becoming an adviser was in fact a long-abandoned dream.

In-Service Course Attendance

As has been seen above, there is a tendency for teachers to believe that in-service courses do influence promotion. In this section it is intended to examine more closely the effects that the two major types of in-service training courses — the lengthy courses that lead to an academic award, and short-term courses — may have upon a teacher's promotion prospects.

We have already seen that those teachers who were particularly ambitious would manifest this ambition by the thorough way in which they approached the matter of obtaining promotion. Attendance on in-service courses could be one way in which teachers update their pedagogic skills, academic performance or obtain further professional qualifications and potentially make themselves visible to those who might influence promotion.

Short-term courses

A number of teachers in the sample attended part-time (evening, weekend, or day) courses of further professional training.

The numbers of courses the interviewed teachers estimated they attended during the last 10 years, according to age groups, were tabulated in Table 4.5[5].

The overall picture presented is one of quite high attendance, approximately two-thirds of the teachers attending up to 10 courses.

The disparity between the youngest and oldest groups is quite marked but reflects, it is suggested, little more than the increased opportunity for attending courses which comes with time.

Teachers were asked to comment, if they wished, on the reasons why they might attend short term, in-service training courses. An analysis of these reasons is given in Table 4.6.

	N	%
To improve teaching performance	50	34
For exchange of views with colleagues	38	26
For career reasons	22	15
For academic subject interest	21	14
To acquire special skills	11	8
For personal satisfaction	4	3
Total number of comments	146	100

Table 4.6

Although *Career reasons* in their pure form only account for 15 per cent of the reasons given, it appears that even the 50 teachers who go on courses *To improve teaching performance*, giving reasons such as 'it helps my classroom work to pick up information on new text books, new methods and exam requirements' will have gained from these courses a greater efficiency as teachers which might be reflected by increased chances of promotion. The *Exchange of views with colleagues* as a reason for course attendance is itself seen by some teachers as a contributory factor to increased promotability, and further exemplifies the use of strategies discussed earlier.

> It provides a vehicle by which you can meet others — important to move out of an individual school if you want to be a head of department, in this way you can meet other heads of department . . . it looks good on application forms

Although one teacher said that for him 'no questions about courses have ever come up in interviews'.

The acquisition of specific skills necessary to obtain a new job is another reason for teachers to take courses; for example, one person who attended a night school course in modern maths. This was necessary because up to that time his maths was engineering based and he 'got the job because (he) could teach the modern maths'. Other

Teachers may find attendance at specific courses useful to cope with the unfamiliar problems in a new job:

> Up until becoming deputy head I had taken subject courses, and now I look for those on organization and management.

An interesting sidelight on the motivations of those attending short courses emerges from Table 4.7 below, when the number of courses attended is used as the basis of comparison.

	Has done 0-10 courses		Has done 11+ courses	
	N	%	N	%
Career reasons	19	19	3	7
Academic interest	11	11	10	22
Exchange of views	22	22	16	35
Personal satisfaction	3	3	1	2
Special skills	8	8	3	7
Teaching performance	37	37	13	28
Total number of comments	100	100	46	100
	65 teachers		28 teachers	

Table 4.7

If the four main types of reasons mentioned by more than 20 people, namely *career reasons, academic interest, exchange of views* and *teaching performance,* are compared, we find a statistically significant difference.[6] The nature of the difference between those who have done up to ten short courses and those who have done more is interesting. There is a tendency for those with less than ten courses to take such courses either for career reasons or in order to improve their teaching performance; whereas those who have done more than ten courses find that their value lies more in their academic interest or in the exchange of views and ideas with other participant colleagues. Since we have already seen from Table 4.5 that it tends to be the older teachers who have done more courses, what is apparently being reflected here is that it is the younger teachers who are attending courses with an eye to their careers.

Courses leading to Degrees or Diplomas

A slightly different picture is provided by those courses which are in their nature of greater length, which have more stringent

requirements for entry, and lead to academic awards. The numbers of teachers who attempt such courses are necessarily smaller than those of teachers attending shorter courses. In fact, only 34 per cent of the sampled teachers, not restricted to any one age group had taken longer courses, although there was a greater likelihood of male teachers attending. Similarly, in the section earlier in this chapter dealing with graduate and non-graduate differences, it was observed that attendance on courses was greater for non-graduates than for graduates, although there was a suggestion that attendance on courses was associated with increased promotability only for graduates.

The undertaking of a long term course involves for any teacher considerable sacrifice of free time. Few teachers appear to have been able to obtain secondment from their local education authorities. It appears then that the teacher who is prepared to make the sacrifice of his free time must be, for one reason or another, strongly committed to the course which he undertakes. A broad categorization of the reasons given by the 41 teachers who had attended long courses is shown below in Table 4.8.

Career reasons	47 mentions
Academic/subject interest	17 mentions
Subject/teaching skills	8 mentions
Personal satisfaction	4 mentions

Table 4.8

It is interesting to compare the reasons given for attending long courses with those given for attendance on short courses. It will be recalled from Table 4.7 that the acquisition of teaching skills was the reason most frequently mentioned for attendance on short courses and that career reasons were mentioned only half as many times, whereas for long courses career reasons account for approximately two-thirds of all reasons given, and, as we saw earlier, one of the major factors which encourages teachers to take such courses is a belief in the advantages that will accrue to a teacher from a further qualification.

> There are more and more B.Ed students; a student with an ordinary teacher's certificate just won't get advancement.

Within this context the Open University provides a lifebelt, particularly so since teacher training allows exemption from part of

the prescribed course of studies. It is not only the degree awarding course which is regarded as being able to redress the balance in favour of the graduate:

> Any certificate helps in a career, any piece of paper is viewed favourably.

A similar attitude is shown in the case of a teacher who at the time of interview was taking a part time course in school librarianship:

> As a non-graduate teacher, there are only two spheres of promotion open to you — backward children and librarianship. I need a diploma to have a hope of a college lectureship.

This teacher expresses a belief common to many that obtaining this sort of academic qualification will open to them the possibility of extending their careers into the wider educational field. One teacher currently taking his second higher degree pointed out:

> It doesn't help promotion in schools, but is absolutely essential for universities or colleges; I shall probably go to the United States of America where this will help me get the sort of work I want.

Some teachers may take further qualifications as a means of extending their personal interests into the classroom and even preparatory to changing their subject specialism. A teacher of English took a course leading to a diploma in music:

> Because music is my main recreational interest. I had not taken it at school and was hoping to get a job with a fair amount of music as well as English, which I might eventually drop.

For some teachers however the abandonment of further professional study can follow from the achievement of the career goals in pursuit of which this study was originally undertaken:

> I was told by the head that if I got a diploma I would be given a post of special responsibility. I looked for a speciality, religious education was available at the university and so I took it. This qualified me to read for a Bachelor of Divinity at ————, but I've lost impetus because I have already become head of department.

Extra-curricular activities

It will be recalled from Table 4.1 that one quarter of the interviewed teachers voted *Participation in extra-curricular activities* as being a very important factor influencing promotion. Teachers were asked, during interview, to indicate the extent of their involvement in such work. The results are summarized in Table 4.9[7].

It is interesting to note that, in spite of the apparent belief in the importance of extra-curricular work, one quarter of the sampled teachers do no such work and a further 16 per cent, although having been involved in such activities at an earlier stage of their careers, had at the time of interview for one reason or another given up this work. Most, 44 teachers, took part in only one or two activities, only 14 out of the total number interviewed took part in more than six activities.

While there is no significant difference in the involvement of male and female teachers in extra-curricular work, it will be seen from Table 4.10[8] that involvement in such work varies considerably between the different age groups of teachers. The trend appeared to be one of a high degree of current involvement for younger teachers, and towards past involvement for the older ones.

Although teachers in general seem to believe in the efficacy of extra-curricular activities as a factor in promotion this activity is seen by many as most appropriate for the younger teacher:

> In some cases (extra curricular work) is one way a young teacher can become known and become accepted by the hierarchy. It's a good thing for a young teacher to do.
>
> It makes you a better mixer, and shows you have the interests of the children at heart, but young people can make the best contribution here.

Some teachers, however, feel that even for young teachers the influence on promotion of extra-curricular work can be very ambiguous:

> Only helpful if you're very junior (Scale 1). None of my friends do a damn thing, because they have the right academic qualifications (for promotion). Young chaps work their hearts out and don't get on. For one thing, one shouldn't be too popular with the kids or else heads think you are emotionally insecure.

The majority of these teachers however, felt that any extra-curricular work had a favourable effect on promotion, and some seemed to be involved in such work precisely because of this belief:

> If you're prepared to give up your time, it helps. The more time you put in with the children, the better it looks in the eyes of those who count;
>
> They bring you to the attention of the powers that be. Make you visible;
>
> It illustrates that you don't think of teaching as starting at 9 and finishing at 4.

Many teachers however are involved in extra-curricular activities for more disinterested reasons, as one teacher asserted:

> They do help, by showing concern and interest in pupils and in school, and willingness to expend energy outside narrow subject bands. But this isn't why people do it — they do it because they like it, and the dynamic people are naturally more involved, and they get promoted anyway.

For many teachers extra-curricular activities may be seen as a natural extension of the pastoral side of their work, and as a useful way of 'getting to know the kids'.

> I organize jumble sales, so as they all have decent clothes, and don't look different. There is plenty laid on for the well-off child, and not for the poorer, but I don't want projects that discriminate so I structure groups to go for a week's holiday in the summer.

Besides the feeling that extra-curricular work is properly the province of the young and energetic teacher, many feel that pressure of other commitments prevents them from participating here:

> I used to run about six clubs — I gave them all up 3 years ago when I became head of department, because of the administrative work load.

One senior teacher suggested that participation in extra-curricular work would be inappropriate for a teacher in his position:

> Extra-curricular activities have a favourable influence up to the level of deputy head. After that, you shouldn't be too involved in any one thing. I'm no longer part of any group, but I do my best to give general encouragement.

A diametrically opposed view comes from another teacher holding a similar position:

> It's important for a senior teacher to be seen to do the job that others do, and important to show that you *can* do it. It's the right sort of leadership.

As one of the head teachers pointed out, however, they judged the teachers' involvement in extra curricular activities as a way of showing that 'a teacher is not just an imparter of information; his actions are an indication of wanting to give to the school, and are a bigger and wider indicator of what makes teachers and not lecturers.'

The overall picture, then, was one of generally heavy involvement for many reasons in extra-curricular activities, and a general belief in their direct and indirect influence on promotion. For the 25 per cent

of the sampled teachers who have never undertaken such work, however, the picture is not too gloomy, for, as one teacher pointed out:

> You can't say it does or it doesn't. Promotion is sometimes granted to people who go home at quarter to four.

Mobility

> I just wanted a career, something I thought I'd like doing and I wanted a job where I was absolutely mobile and could work anywhere in the country.

Geographical Mobility

It will be recalled from Table 4.1 that *Experience in a variety of schools* and *Willingness to move to other areas* were regarded as important in teacher promotion. Since the professional qualifications of teachers have national recognition, it was hypothesized that the potential mobility given by the possession of such a qualification might be manifest by frequent moves to different parts of the country, either for personal reasons or for the furtherance of career interest. The situation which came to light however in the five comprehensive schools where interviews were held, does not wholly support this hypothesis. In fact, attitudes to geographical mobility begin to appear as one of the key items in the differentiation of career behaviour.

The parameters examined included the number of geographical areas in which respondents of the different age groups had held teaching posts in their careers to date; the details can be seen in Table 4.11[9]. The most striking feature of this table must be that, contrary to the hypothesis of geographical mobility put forward above, 51 per cent of the interviewed teachers had not moved at all, all their teaching having been undertaken in one geographical area. However it is plain that with greater age the chances of a teacher having been mobile must increase. To some extent this assertion appears to be justified, although this simple asumption disguises sets of complex trends. On closer examination it becomes apparent that for those teachers who have made at least one geographical move, the average number of years to the first such move was 4.3. The distribution of teachers moving after, 1, 2, 3 . . etc years is broken down in the diagram below (Table 4.12).

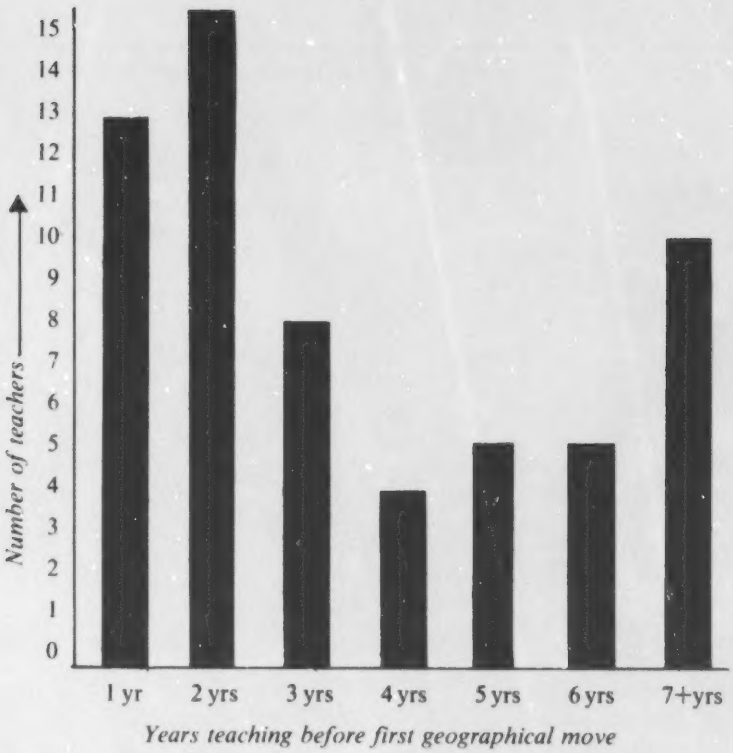

Table 4.12

It is evident from this diagram that, in fact, 40 (two-thirds) of the 60 teachers who had made geographical moves had done so within the first four years of teaching. The expectation is thus generated that two-thirds of those teachers below the age of 35 who are going to make geographical moves during their careers would actually have done so at the time of interview. The actual case however is different. Of the 57 teachers below the age of 35 only 19 (one-third) had moved. The suggestion is that the apparent excess of immobile young teachers, represents, in fact, a group or groups who will leave the teaching profession rather than demonstrate their commitment to the profession as did the sample of older teachers, by staying in it and pursuing their career goals. Examination of the younger teachers who had not moved appeared to support this hypothesis, since they

were found to consist of a high proportion of female teachers who had expressed the intention of leaving to have a family, male teachers who were offering less common academic subjects, and craft teachers, all of whom felt a restriction on the ease with which they could move.

> I was ambitious once in the first one or two years; I realized this was a daydream unless I could do it on experience, but for this I would have had to change schools. I looked around at the beginning of the third year here, then got engaged, and since then have stayed here because I am basically lazy. My husband brings me to work here and public transport would be too difficult at another school.

Thus we see that the apparent explanation for the larger number of areas in which the older teachers have taught — masks a more significant trend for the committed teacher to be prepared to move geographical areas early in his career. This willingness to move geographical area early in a career may prove to be a strong index of those teachers who have some developed ambition and commitment.

The presence of 24 teachers over the age of 35 who have not made any geographical moves is largely accounted for by the presence of the 27 teachers who were late entrants to the teaching profession; 18 of them had not taken the opportunity of making any geographical moves.

> I came in with the idea of teaching until retirement, I was prepared to move once, I would have moved anywhere, but now I am tied to . . .

In spite of the apparently high potential mobility of members of the teaching profession, table 4.13[10] shows very few teachers making a large number of geographical moves. These teachers who had made four or more moves were found to consist largely of married women who had followed their husbands (whose careers were outside teaching). The great majority of the sample of teachers (70 per cent) had in fact not made more than two geographical moves.

When we look at the number of geographical moves made by this sample according to the posts which they hold in Table 4.13[10] the significant chisquare value suggests that more senior teachers tend to be those who have made more geographical moves. It is known that the more senior teachers are generally older and this taken in conjunction with the finding discussed above that older teachers who have remained in the profession displayed characteristic early

geographical moves suggests that promotion for the committed teacher goes hand in hand with his willingness to move areas. However, the figures are likely to mask the strategies of the adroit. As one teacher who had moved into a large conurbation pointed out,

> I moved here because there are several LEAs and Colleges in reach, jobwise, without moving house, and so on.

Career mobility and parallel moves

It was observed earlier that some teachers made career moves which apparently did not result in a promotion or in the likelihood of a promotion in the near future. In some cases, at interview, it proved possible to establish why these moves were made and what the teachers had hoped to come from such moves. It must, however, be apparent that there are reasons for parallel career moves other than those discussed below, since teachers' moves are made for a variety of complex motives.

A male non-graduate teacher in his late thirties, whose main subject was English, saw clearly the unlikelihood of his ever achieving a head of department post, or in fact any other promoted post. He was, he said, 'in a dead end'. He took the opportunity of a move to another school where he had scope to try for responsibility as a careers teacher. This move effectively allowed him to switch from an unpromotable position to one which gave him the chance, after much hard work, of promotion to a position of considerable responsibility, and for which his qualifications and experience were suitable.

A graduate teacher, who had actively pursued promotion in a grammar school early in his career, realised that the opportunity of headship had passed him by. Accordingly he looked for the biggest allowance in the nicest part of the country he could find, moved there, built a house and set about planning for retirement.

Others in this sample have moved for family reasons — the need to support elderly, invalid or dependent parents proves to be one of the most common reasons. A simple desire to move nearer to parents; moving nearer his in-laws was advanced by a male teacher, now holding a very senior position, as the reason for an apparently inexplicable move that he made earlier in his career.

Very few teachers offered a desire to widen experience as a reason for a parallel move, though one woman, the second-in-charge of a department, did advance the opinion that 'schools are too inward looking, too claustrophobic' for her taste, and added that 'a change

was like a breath of fresh air'. Rarely was it suggested by teachers making parallel moves that they hoped that the challenge of the new job would prove to be interesting, or that they felt they were getting into a rut. However, it was observed that there may be some likelihood of men who had been confined to one school (and often to one post) while supporting their school-age children, acting in this way once the dependence is removed. It almost appeared to be one last fling. Unfortunately, in the observed cases, this parallel move did not necessarily result in promotion, or even in greater satisfaction with the job.

Examples were noted of women making parallel moves, because they were 'returned teachers', or because their own career was subordinated to that of their husbands. These are discussed more fully in the next chapter.

One further point — it was originally assumed that parallel career moves would appear as an index of young teachers gaining experience by moving fairly rapidly between schools at the beginning of their careers. It is interesting to note that this did not seem to be the case.

School mobility

In order to investigate the extent to which teachers were prepared to move to further their careers the interviewed teachers were asked the following question, from which Table 4.14 was drawn up:

Table 4.14: Would you accept a job offered to you if it involved moving school?

	N	%
No response	*13	11
Yes	90	74
No	19	16

(*This particular subgroup of 13 teachers who gave no response to this question were on the point of retirement and were adamant that they would not accept another job under any circumstance)

This question was intended to investigate the extent to which teachers displayed loyalty to a particular school, or felt that their chances of achieving high status would be improved by remaining in one school as appeared to be the case for grammar school teachers in

the 1930s and the 1940s. The findings appear to suggest that very few teachers retain this school loyalty and it will be recalled from Table 4.1 that 'Long service in a particular school' was ranked thirtieth in the list of factors affecting promotion, being considered important by only four people.

Although it has been found (and discussed above) that teachers in general do not show an excessively high geographical mobility, the willingness to move school suggested in Table 4.14 above, has in fact been borne out by the career patterns of most teachers, the average teacher working in a number of schools in the course of a teaching career.

There is a clear indication of willingness on the part of most teachers to move schools, but it must not be assumed that this facility and willingness is shared equally. Some do display loyalty and ties to specific institutions and reject a philosophy of success that demands 'career moves', as unethical and contrary to their view of what schools should be about.

> It's a pity when you have to leave a school to further your career. I wouldn't. The place and people you are working with are more important. It is not worth moving just for a few more pennies;

> I feel that the way you're expected to move after a few years is a disadvantage for the pupils. You're just getting to know the school when you have to go.

However, for those who are prepared to move, these moves may be prompted by a variety of motives among which can be found a desire to gain experience of teaching in different types of school; purely personal reasons; and the hope of gaining promotion or enhancing promotion prospects. One further motive may be present for those who judge that their career might have developed as far as it may go. A head of department pointed out that:

> after — and lots of unsuccessful applications for 'grammar school' headships, I came to — because it's a nice part of the country and the biggest allowance I could get.

LEA mobility and community ties

Although many teachers appear to be aware of the advantages to their career prospects which may accrue from willingness to make relatively frequent moves from area to area and school to school, there are, it appears, many factors which may prevent the school-teacher from being as mobile as his career intentions would dictate. In order to examine the extent of some of these factors, teachers were asked the following two questions:

Table 4.15. Would you accept a job offered to you if it involved:

	No response		Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Moving LEA?	*13	11	88	72	21	17
Moving House?	*13	11	48	39	61	50

(*The 13 teachers who gave no response to any item in this question were on the point of retirement, and would not accept any job under any circumstance)

The first item in this question assumed that within some LEAs the reputation of the authority might encourage teachers to remain in their employment and that the existence of promotion ladders might exert a pressure to remain. It seems, however, that for these teachers loyalty to a local education authority is not an important factor in the consideration of the mobility necessitated by a career within teaching.

The second item was included because it was thought that teachers might display, if not loyalty to an area or a particular school, some degree of attachment to the community within which they live. Such a loyalty it was thought would be best exhibited by an unwillingness for teachers to detach themselves and possibly their dependents from the immediate neighbourhood within which they had formed social ties. Examination of the answers to this question shows that the willingness to move house is far less common than the willingness to move school or LEA. Effectively 60 per cent of the sampled teachers were unprepared to make such a move, and the rapid increase in house prices is also another major intervening factor:

> Yes, with reservations. A new house is a problem. Can you afford to buy one? Moves are very expensive and so it would really have to be a local job.
>
> I know people who have been offered a job but have had to turn them down because they cannot afford to buy a house now. This is what's holding me back, otherwise I would be off, I just cannot afford the cost of houses now.

Teachers may also have long established roots, holding them to a particular area and to a community. The sense of belonging and security which this provides may offer satisfaction beyond that to be gained from a career defined in a narrow occupational sense. One teacher who was interviewed was forthright about this:

> You have to balance career prospects and job satisfaction. I went for job satisfaction. I wouldn't take a job with higher pay if

> it didn't bring satisfaction. I wouldn't move, for instance, to the Midlands for an extra increment because of hardening of the arteries and money in the bank.

A viewpoint such as this, which implies a strong sense of local identity, may reflect strongly held views about other parts of the country, and such viewpoints may become incorporated into the folklore of teaching, for there seems to be faith in a paradise where senior posts are freely available. There is usually, however, a sting in the tail.

> I like it in this part of the country; I will put up with a lot of intolerable things because I have a very pleasant non-school life; I would like a headship but I won't get one unless I move area. The LEA doesn't deploy its manpower. I have realized over the past 18 months to 2 years that I have been getting nowhere when applying for headships in this county. Anyone can get a headship if they are prepared to move to —!"

While some teachers are able to derive an identity and even sustenance, from their community ties, such ties, can in turn act as constraints:

> I have a mother well into her seventies, and it is difficult to know what to do.

One overriding factor which restricts most teachers at some time in their career is of course a dependent family, usually in fact children of school age.

> I wouldn't move house for at least 2 years. My elder child has just started school and the second child will start in two years, which makes it the only possible time for a break for a long time to come.

If the trends discussed above are substantially represented in schools, then it implies a paradoxical situation particularly represented by the holders of senior posts who must have shown the greatest commitment to obtaining promotion. For those who are promoted are those who have an attitude of mind which allows them to move freely about the country if necessary, but those who are tied to a community by dependents, friends, relatives, and a whole range of community based loyalties are, it seems, less likely to be selected for promotion to the most senior posts. Does this, in fact, argue an imbalance in the types of persons recruited to the most senior posts in a school, since schools are traditionally upholders of the sense of local community, its values, and traditions? On the other hand, schools as we now know them are possibly far less narrowly community-based,

and as such might more closely approximate to the interests and attitudes of the staff found in them.

We have seen in this section some evidence for the existence of career stages in teaching; whom the educational system appears to advance between stages, how, and at what rate; we have also seen the discrepancy between some teachers' views of what they think occurs and what for this sample, did occur; these views are necessarily interrelated with those examined in the previous section regarding maps, timetables and strategies. A picture emerges in which the concepts of commitment and the accumulation of advantages or valuables can influence the perceptions which teachers hold, and restrict the potentiality of career development, mobility, and therefore ultimately promotability. We have also seen that some teachers appear to have difficulty in obtaining information about the nature of the gate-keeping devices which control progression between career stages. Inevitably, different views abound, quite simply because, for example, not all head teachers would ever agree on the relative merits of a gate-keeping device, or even agree whether or not a certain item had the merit of being of sufficient substance to be a gate-keeping device. Participation in extra-curricular activities will suffice as an example. This point clearly raises a corresponding problem: the nature of values existing to judge teacher-worth. This is an area of considerable contention and, possibly, confusion; the theoretical formulations which we are using here make such differences in viewpoints particularly apparent, by emphasizing as they do the different rates of career progression through the bureaucratic layers of an organization. This will be exemplified in more detail in the next chapter, when the school as a source of different careers is examined.

Notes

1.
HILSUM, S. and START, K.B. (1974). *Promotion and Careers in Teaching*. Windsor: NFER Publishing Company.

2.

	Graduates		Non-graduates		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
First school comprehensive	20	29	15	28	35	29
First school grammar	30	43	4	8	34	28
First school sec. modern	11	16	27	51	38	31
First school other	8	12	7	13	15	12
Total	69	100	53	100	122	100

$x^2=25.745$ df=3 $p<0.001$

Table 4.2. The type of school in which graduates and non-graduates held their first teaching appointment

The category 'First school other' includes schools in other countries, primary schools, and schools in the private sector etc.
The value of x^2 computed from this table shows the difference to be significant at the 0.1 per cent level.

3.

	Has done course		Not done course		Total
	N	%	N	%	
Graduates	18	26	51	74	69
Non-graduates	23	43	30	57	53
Total	41	34	81	66	122

$x^2=4.025$ df=1 $p<0.05$

Table 4.3. Have you since beginning teaching attended any degree- or diploma-awarding course of further professional training

4.

		Scale 1 Posts		Graded Posts		Mid Posts		Top Post		Total
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Graduates	Has done course	3	17	2	11	5	28	8	44	18
	Has not done course	9	17	16	31	18	35	8	16	51
Total graduates		12	17	18	26	23	33	16	23	69

$x^2 = 7.072$ df = 3

Non-graduates	Has done course	4	17	5	22	14	61	0	—	23
	Has not done course	6	20	9	30	15	50	0	—	30
Total non-graduates		10	19	14	26	29	55	0	—	53
		22	18	32	26	52	43	16	13	122

$x^2 = 0.664$ df = 2

Table 4.4. The distribution of school posts held by graduates and non-graduates who have and have not attended courses of further professional training

5.

	No courses	1-10 courses	11-20 courses	21+ courses	Total
	%	%	%	%	N=122
Age 21-25	33	61	6	0	19
Age 26-35	16	68	13	3	38
Age 36-45	7	63	13	17	30
Age 46+	6	51	14	29	35
Total	13	61	12	13	122

Table 4.5. The number of courses attended during the last 10 years

6.

LYONS, G. (1975). *Teacher Careers and Career Perceptions*. Report to the DES. University of Bristol.

7.

	Total	
	N	%
Does no extra curricular activities	31	25
Does 1 or 2 extra curricular activities	44	36
Does 3-6 extra curricular activities	13	11
Does 7+ extra curricular activities	14	12
Used to do extra curricular activities	20	16

Table 4.9. The involvement of the sampled teachers in extra-curricular activities

8.

	Age 21-25	Age 26-35	Age 36-45	Age 46+
	%	%	%	%
Does no extra curricular activities	11	18	33	29
Does 1 or 2 extra curricular activities	50	37	40	27
Does 3-6 extra curricular activities	22	16	10	0
Does 7+ extra curricular activities	17	11	3	17
Used to do extra curricular activities	0	18	13	27
	100	100	100	100

N = 122

Table 4.10. Involvement in extra-curricular activities by age of teacher

9.

	No moves	1 or 2 moves	3 or 4 moves	5+ moves
	%	%	%	%
Ages 21-25	89	11	0	0
Age 26-35	55	45	0	0
Age 36-45	37	53	7	3
Age 46+	37	37	26	0
Total	51	39	9	1

N = 122

Table 4.11. Number of geographical moves made by teachers of various age groups

10.

	No moves		1 move		2 moves		3+ moves	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Scale 1 Post	18	81	3	14	1	5	0	0
Graded Post	21	66	8	25	3	9	0	0
Mid Post	17	32	17	32	8	16	10	20
Top Post	6	38	4	25	4	25	2	12
Total	62	51	32	26	16	13	12	10

A chisquare value computed from a 2x4 matrix, for teachers of the four status groups who had made less than 2, against those who had made 2 or more moves, gives a value of $x^2 = 13.466$, which, with 3 degrees of freedom, is significant at the 1 per cent level.

Table 4.13. Numbers of geographical moves made by teachers holding various posts

Chapter Five

The school as a source of different careers and the consequences for teachers

Values and the nature of success and failure, terminal posts, and alternative careers

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I

We saw earlier how the idea of a career composed of a set of stages drew attention to the problems of movement from one stage to another; and to the problem the individual teacher has of obtaining information which enables him to progress between stages by recognizing the gate-keeping devices which exist; alternatively this could be seen as the 'system' advancing the teacher through the stages by control of the gate-keeping process. We have seen how teachers differ in the degree to which they hold maps of a career, employ strategies and obtain sponsors, and thus ready themselves for advancement, and also how the adroit attempt to minimize potential blocking of future career routes by holding alternative fulfillable goals (for as long as possible, anyway), to ensure that exit from a stage, and entry to any succeeding stage, is not restricted. We have also seen how the rate of progress is measured against normatively based timetables, and how the realization that timetables have

relevance often, in fact, proves to be the catalyst for the teacher to begin the process of constructing his map and strategy. It also became apparent at the end of the last section, that accumulation of 'valuables' could be a constraint on an individual's freedom of action, a restriction of his promotion opportunities.

To arrive at these conclusions we have used, as illustrative material, the information related to us in interviews, and in confidence, by our sample of teachers. The picture so far developed allows us now to examine teaching as a source of dissimilar and different careers, at a time when the discontinuities to 'normal' career progression have been particularly profound. We shall accordingly draw attention to some of the consequences of this: we shall raise the issue of values, satisfactions, self perceived success and failure, terminal posts, and examine further, through the insights of Becker, the idea of valuables and, following from this, the idea of alternative careers.

The teachers interviewed here had provided us with many insights into their views of their work as teachers, views which have helped motivate them and carry them through their careers. To some ('if you have trained then you have a profession'), 'it represents something solid to which you can always turn'. Another teacher, probably concerned with the motives which had brought him and many others into teaching, stated that he 'wouldn't like a rat race; I'm not one to push myself forward as you must do in industry'. To him teaching was, and should be, above such behaviour. Time and again we learned of 'the enjoyment of the teaching process; teachers teach because they like the children, and inevitably they are involved in all sorts of youth activities, in school and out of school'. A very senior teacher, well into her fifties, said 'It never fails to amaze me that I still like kids'. Missionaries and altruists rub shoulders with the ambitious and the unambitious. One teacher did however say that wnat he wanted was 'a captive audience', and another commented: 'I came from a working-class background and the question of security was quite important; there was little career guidance in schools at that time'. Many of those who joined the teaching profession either just before or just after the Second World War had the image of the 1930s in front of them and 'tended to play safe'.

It seems evident, from the range of opinions and behaviours we are presented with that considerable value differentiation and value clash is likely to emerge over what constitutes worth in a teaching career,

which contributes to the feelings of satisfaction and frustration that teachers obtain from their employment. While it seems to be true that an individual who is frustrated or dissatisfied with his place and type of employment is likely to leave, nonetheless, the question remains as to whether an individual can always diagnose the true cause of his ills — whether he will not rather internalize or rationalize what he thinks he observes. We have already seen how teachers perceive the behaviour of their peers with differing degrees of insight, and consequently hold different career timetables and career reference points. Furthermore, teachers express concerns and pose questions which the system must seriously attempt to answer, such as those implied in the comment by one young teacher that: 'in the last 18 months I have realized that going up is getting admin. Before that, I was too concerned with holding down the job and enduring it'. Another established teacher commented:

> I don't really want to move up the ladder any further. I can't imagine myself doing purely admin. as a head or a deputy, too concerned with teaching and methods of subject.

A very capable teacher of English realized

> It wasn't going to be as simple as I thought it was going to be — I'm not a failure but need to be more thrusting, more forceful to be a head of department in a comprehensive school.

Frustration might be the lot of

> those who want to offer something a little different, drama, music, counselling — at least they feel their offerings are judged as not main line. It is because there is a lack of interest in what they are doing by the hierarchy of the school.

As one of these teachers said, 'Can you imagine a musician as an administrator?' He clearly could not.

For many, despondency can be an outcome. Some, it seemed, pushed beyond forbearance by what they usually described as the intransigent attitude of a headteacher, took the risk of resigning in order to start again. The likelihood of the world being changed around them was a constantly emerging theme. 'Wished, oh wished, that I was still teaching in a grammar school, but those days have gone. Have to change with the times'.

The individual, nonetheless, begins at some point to adjust to circumstances, begins to redefine fulfillable goals, or to find alternative areas in which to gain the satisfaction which has eluded him in his career so far. The process does not, clearly, happen

overnight. One man, on scale 4, pointed out that 'I've now done all I can, there is no challenge left'. Perhaps there is an element of rationalization on the part of those who claim that their career has been hindered by family, sick wives, children at school, elderly invalid widowed mothers, or similar circumstances, and they should be allowed their dreams. It would be unproductive to point out to them an indicator of success volunteered by one teacher that

> length of service in a particular job, of 6 or 7 years, means that you can hold down the job. 20 years means you're a stick in the mud, you're not going to get promoted.

The teachers in our sample faced up to assessments like these in many different ways. One older man, discussing this at length, said that in his own eyes he had

> achieved a minor boss job and this (is) psychologically satisfying. I do not get quite enough fulfillment out of present job . . . my own job is more restricted but not as pestered as the head. The Head is a waste paper basket, he's the dumping ground for complaints, he's there to be shot at. When I moved to — I bought myself a plot of land, drew up a plan of the house and garden I wanted, then got a builder to build it. I have stuck from then onwards — got onto the parish council . . . it's the amenities of life that appeal.

Another teacher frankly said that he would like to retire early.

> I have interests now outside of teaching. You've had your lot as an actual teacher after 50. You slow down.

Others, as we saw earlier, had achieved their ambitions, and some did not even appear to know that they had missed the boat.

It seems plain that a teacher who sees from the start all the moves necessary over the whole of his career is in a position of advantage over one who does not. This type of teacher sees the career possibilities at the outset, and his subsequent experience crystallizes and reinforces the original perception.

Let us examine these and related issues in a little more detail to see how schools become over time a source of different careers for the teachers who work in them. Let us first look at the motives which brought this sample of teachers into a teaching career.

Motives and Satisfaction

Although it was anticipated that a large number of motives would

feature among any group of teachers, an examination of those which the sample claimed to be paramount as inducements to enter teaching showed considerable conformity. The full list is given in Table 5.1 below.

Q. **What made the teaching profession attractive to you?**		
Academic/subject interest	45	mentions
Enjoys contact with children	43	,,
Enjoys actual teaching process	29	,,
Family history of teaching	23	,,
Generally liked job, disliked alternatives	21	,,
Altruistic reasons — a worthwhile job	19	,,
Suggested by others	18	,,
Always wanted to be a teacher	16	,,
Working conditions (hours, holidays, pay)	14	,,
Job security	11	,,
Best career for a married woman	8	,,
Drifted in to teaching, no particular reason	8	,,
Secured a safe job in the 1930s	7	,,
Was aware of career possibilities for teachers	6	,,
Status of profession	6	,,
Admired own teachers at school	4	,,
Wanted intellectual stimulation, contact with colleagues	2	,,

These motives show no signifcant variation between graduates and non-graduates, for both of which the rankings of the first ten categories are nearly identical.

Table 5.1. Motives for entering the teaching profession (ranked)

The three reasons offered most frequently include some degree of self-justification. They involve essential characteristics of the job — presumably, had these not been to the liking of the teacher he would not have entered teaching in the first place. They are: *academic subject interest; Enjoys contact with children;* and *Enjoys actual teaching process.*

Those reasons which came next, namely, *Family history of teaching, Generally like job, dislike alternatives,* and *Suggested by others,* appear to be somewhat negative reasons for entering teaching, although claimed by so many in the sample. (The first five reasons account for 54 per cent of motives offered).

Family history of teaching, however, may be interpreted as one of those elements which shows a strong vocational leaning. Certainly it does appear to point to the complexity of the issues underlying and affecting occupational choice and to indicate the age at which such

decisions might be reached. A number of those interviewed had pointed out that their father or mother was a teacher, as was an aunt, a cousin, etc. They had spent the whole of their teenage years vowing never to become a teacher, but yet, as they pointed out with wry smiles, here they are.

Among the remaining reasons given, one which figured as important was the 'altruistic motive' — 'the most important thing in this life is to open doors for people' — although several of the interviewed teachers were aware of self-interest as a motivation towards teaching, which they saw as a profession offering good working condition in terms of hours, holidays and pay, and a degree of job security. Several teachers were aware of the profession as a means of social advancement; and also, among the older teachers, some pointed out that in the labour market of the 1930s, teaching provided a safe career. It is perhaps surprising that so few teachers appeared to have entered teaching because of their awareness of the career possibilities within the profession.

The teachers in the sample were additionally asked: 'Was school-teaching your first choice of career?' Their responses are given in Table 5.2 below.

In confirmation of the rather obvious nature of some of these motives, only half (63) of the sampled teachers had *Always wanted to teach*. Of theses, three teachers were, for one reason or another, unable to enter college or university immediately after leaving school, and were forced by circumstances into other work for a period before beginning to teach. A relatively large number (19 per cent) of the sample teachers, however, had another career before entering teaching, which was a step taken after the conclusion of the first career, often in the Services, or due to other changes in employment circumstances, particularly, it seems, for those who enter as teachers of industry-related subjects (e.g. crafts, metalwork, agricultural science, etc.). A surprising 19 per cent of teachers entered the profession because they found, at graduation, that they were faced with a situation in which their qualifications seemed inappropriate for any other career. There is no implication however that these teachers proved any less effective than others who entered for more decisive reasons: indeed, this reason ranks equal first with *Always wanted to teach* for teachers now holding top posts.

There is no reason to believe that the prime motives at entry will remain the same throughout a teacher's career, and many factors compel a change of career orientation, such as occurs when a teacher leaves the classroom and goes into administration, a change which

Question: Was school teaching your first choice as a career?

	Holding Scale 1 Post	Holding Graded Post	Holding Mid Post	Holding Top Post	Total
	%	%	%	%	
1	41	63	48	38	49
2	5	3	2	—	2
3	23	22	17	13	19
4	5	—	10	6	6
5	18	13	17	38	19
6	9	—	6	6	5

1. Always wanted to teach.
2. Was first choice but did something else first.
3. Had another career first.
4. £.s.d. left no other choice.
5. What else could you do with my qualifications?
6. Would have liked to have been a doctor/nurse/social worker etc., but became a teacher instead.

Table 5.2. Circumstances influencing career choice by type of post held*

* See Chapter 2 for a description of the posts which are included in each of these categories.

can cause acute anguish and conflict to a teacher who recognizes that his original goals have been fulfilled, and need to be redefined, or that they are unattainable, or that external constraints have imposed a check upon his original expectations.

It can be assumed that by the simple act of entering teaching some teachers will have accomplished their foreseeable goals, and will not yet have developed any new ones; to be a class teacher is, for such teachers, a goal which accords with their motivation, and it will be some time before they change their position.

Let us continue this line of inquiry a little further by considering those factors which this sample of teachers claimed were giving satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, to them in their work as teachers.

Satisfactions

When a teacher is in the position of considering his possible future path within the profession, it is likely that he will look for the fulfilment of the desires reflected in his original motives for entering teaching; for the provision of basic needs for himself and his family; and for the continuation of the sources of satisfaction of which he may have become aware since beginning his working life. It seemed of interest to discover the degree of satisfaction which the interviewed teachers felt that they derived from various aspects of the teaching job, and to this end they were asked to rate a list of fourteen items on a fivepoint scale (from Very Satisfactory to Very Unsatisfactory)[1]. They were asked to rate the items according to the satisfaction which they derived from their present jobs. In Table 5.3 below the ratings of the items given by teachers according to their experience in their jobs at the time of interview are presented. The first seven items in the list: *Contact with pupils; Security in job; The actual teaching process; Degree of personal responsibility and independence; Relationships with colleagues in a similar position; Working conditions, hours and holidays;* and *The sense of personal achievement* were all preponderantly rated as giving satisfaction, only a small percentage of teachers expressing no reaction for these items or declaring that they were unsatisfactory. As was pointed out in the earlier discussion of motives for entering the profession, aspects of the teacher's work such as *Contact with children* and *Enjoyment of the actual teaching process* are demonstrably part of the satisfaction to be gained from this profession, since they constitute the major area of a teacher's work.

It is also worth noting that such factors as *Security in the job* and *Working conditions, hours and holidays* are elements of any profession which need to be satisfying. Teaching did, however, offer a degree of job security not found in many non-academic professions, and the timing of the educational year offers special advantages, particularly to the married man or woman in terms of the amount of time available for family life. The nature of the teaching profession itself is further exhibited in the three other items mentioned as giving cause for satisfaction: that teachers should derive satisfaction from the opportunity of interrelationships at a professional level with colleagues can only argue the basic health of the profession, and that this should be further exemplified by the degree of personal responsibility and independence and the sense of personal achievement to be derived from the exercise of their professional

skills supports this impression.

The other seven items suggest different feelings existing among teachers and reveal firstly, those items which might point to a sense of malaise within the profession and could perhaps profitably be rectified; secondly, that a different perception of these items may exist according to the age, sex and the position which the teacher occupies. The reaction, for instance, to salary prospects may well indicate the latter point of view, and it is worth pointing out that the dissatisfaction expressed with the opportunities for professional advancement by, say, a head teacher has a very different meaning from the same sentiment expressed by a Scale 1 teacher. The two items concerned with the free time at the disposal of the teacher, *Time to pursue personal interests* and *Time to pursue academic interests*, are the two items with the highest percentage of responses indicating actual dissatisfaction rather than a lack of satisfaction, and perhaps indicate the presence of a group of teachers who feel that the demands on their time, in terms of the variety of out of school work which they are required to undertake are excessive.

A final item which provoked some dissenting voices, was *The administrative content of the job*. This constitutes an aspect of the teacher's work to which there appear to be varied and complex attitudes. Earlier, it became apparent that teachers are drawn to the profession by factors like subject interest, classroom contact and the abilities to help and influence young people; it appears, however, that the opportunity to gain promotion, particularly to the highest offices, might now be related to attributes which were not among those originally attracting teachers into the profession, and for which the school apparently provides neither a sufficient rationale nor sufficient formalized training. Indeed, for many teachers promoted to positions involving administrative work, the training consists largely of the opportunity to observe and copy the methods of working of another teacher already performing similar functions, and the opportunity afforded by a limited in service provision. The administrative content of the more senior positions in schools seems, in fact, to be one factor which may cause, for many teachers, a radical reappraisal of their career goals. Indeed, to divide teachers into two broad groups, there are those whose affinity for classroom working is so high as to preclude the possibility of their losing it, and those who, for the sake of their careers, are prepared to do without the gratification of the motives which originally brought them into the profession. A teacher of science with five years' teaching experience, and a Scale 4 post, was most adamant about this when he said:

	Percentage				
	Very satis-factory	Quite satis-factcry	No reaction	Unsatis-factory	Very unsatis-factory
Contact with pupils					
Security in job					
The actual teaching process					
Degree of personal responsibility and indepe dence					
Relationships with colleagues in a similar position					
Working conditions, hours and holidays					
The sense of personal achievement					
The administrative content of the job					
Salary prospects					
Time to pursue personal interests					
Opportunities for professional adv ancement					
Recognition by the community					
Time to pursue academic interests					
Recognition for work well done					
Total					

Table 5.3. The degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction the items mentioned above give to the teacher in his/her present post

I enjoy teaching. I wouldn't mind teaching for the rest of my life, but in September I'll be getting the top salary, and if I stay, I'll be stuck on x thousand a year, but I don't want to be a headmaster or a deputy head, what interests me is teaching.

Teachers' attitudes towards the administrative content of their work are elucidated further in Table 5.4 below:

	No response*		Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
All teachers	14	12	57	47	51	42

Tabie 5.4: Q. Would you accept a job offered to you if it involved a marked decrease in the proportion of administration?

* This particular sub-group of teachers who gave no response were, at the time of interview, nearing their retirement and said they would not accept any job offered.

The apparent separation of the interviewed teachers into those who would accept and those who would not accept such a job is not explicable in terms of a single set of motivations. Those who would not accept such a job may obviously include teachers with a great love of administrative work as well as teachers who recognize that such work, whether they like it or not, is a necessary concomitant of their progress towards their career goals; similarly, those who would accept a marked decrease in administrative work may be willing to do so for a variety of reasons.

All of the teachers were asked to rate their attitude to the administrative content of the job on a five point scale, from 'Very Satisfactory' to 'Very Unsatisfactory'. The tabulated results are shown at the end of this chapter in Table 5.5[2]

The nature of the difference seems to be an increasing satisfaction with the 'administrative content of the job' with increasing length of experience, although the 11-15 years' group rates slightly lower in this than might be expected.

It is likely that there are three contributory reasons for this increasing satisfaction with administrative work: firstly, there is a need to take on such work in order to fit yourself for promotion; secondly, years of experience reflect, to some extent, seniority in the school, and it is the senior teachers who do the greater part of such work; and thirdly, as teachers become older, they may no longer enjoy the classroom situation as much as they did when younger — as one remarked

> If you are paid for it, then teachers love it; and if you have a little time as well, it's a refreshing change. It's dreadful to teach for thirty periods a week.

The dilemmas posed by attitudes towards, and the acceptance of the need for, administration in the school is a constantly recurring theme. However, for some teachers there can be considerable anguish in turning their backs on those factors which were the principal motivation in joining the teaching profession, which have given them satisfaction and possibly promotion over some years and which have contributed towards the respect which they enjoy among their staffroom colleagues. In some of these cases, so teachers related, the head had been urging them to apply for promotion, to a deputy head's post, head of section's post, and so forth, but they had been unable to bring themselves to do it. The movement from what is essentially a teaching post to what they perceive as an administrative post provides a point of considerable significance, a watershed, in their career. A need to restate the values which had provided the basis for their career satisfaction and fulfilment to date becomes one of the problems concerned with taking on what, in their judgement, is unmistakably a managerial position.

There are pressures on you to go for deputy headship. But I fight it because (for him) love teaching; for contact of minds and would therefore lost my job satisfaction. But where do I go from here? One gets in a rut. Luckily my wife teaches so can avoid deputy head's post and still make ends meet. Contrarily the reorganization which produced the comprehensive schools has caused a radical change in the source of satisfaction for some people:

> There are pressures on you to go for deputy headship. But I fight it because I love teaching; for contact of minds and would therefore have lost my job satisfaction. But where do I go from here? One gets in a rut. Luckily my wife teaches so can avoid deputy head's post and still make ends meet.

Contrarily the reorganization which produced the comprehensive schools has caused a radical change in the source of satisfaction for some people:

> I wish I was still teaching in a grammar school, but those days have gone. Now I like doing admin. as it gets me out of the classroom.

One of the heads attempted to put a balanced view on this particular issue.

> If I was only a full-time administrator there would be better ways of earning a living — I would look for another job. You

can't run any school unless you can demonstrate to teachers your ability in the classroom.

We begin to see how different groups of teachers react to the types of goals they see offered to them in teaching. For some, simple organizational ploys suffice to turn the career in a more personally satisfying direction. Others, particularly with age, undergo a reorientation of those motives which were originally responsible for their entry into teaching; but for many it seems as though the dilemma causes problems over a considerable time, never, in some cases, satisfactorily resolved.

Let us look now at another piece of information, which it is suggested, provides an example of such differentiation.

Pastoral Ambitions for Non-graduates

The disadvantaged position in which the non-graduate teacher appears to find himself when career progression is examined has already been mentioned. As the teacher's career unfolds and he accumulates information and measures himself against the progress of others, the need for the non-graduate to reformulate his aims — to reset fulfillable goals for himself — becomes, it is suggested, crucial if he wishes to achieve a post of some seniority in a school. The pastoral side of a school appears to offer fulfillable goals to the non-graduate, and accordingly is a direction in which he might turn. It would seem that non-graduate teachers are aware of this bias in the distribution of posts of seniority, and many may shape their ambitions accordingly. (See Table 5.6[1]). Another indicator of career differentiation lies in the area of extramural activities, more specifically the age-related extra-mural activity in which some teachers become involved as career progression slows down or disappears, and the original motives for joining the profession give less satisfaction.

Extra-mural activities

It was felt that for a number of reasons teachers would be involved in activities which, although not directly related to school, stem quite clearly from the teacher's role, or from the teacher's status, within a community. The interviewed teachers were accordingly asked to indicate whether they were now, or ever had been, involved in the following types of activities, and to comment, if they wished, about this involvement.

	Is or has been involved	Has never been involved
	%	%
Paid work on an educational nature	50.0	50.0
Voluntary community work/youth work	50.0	50.0
Membership of local councils	7.4	92.6
Local or national work for Teachers' Associations/Unions	25.4	74.6
Membership of professional/academic bodies	26.2	73.8
Membership of examining boards	25.4	74.6
Other work	30.3	69.7
Part-time or holiday work	20.5	79.5
Total	29.4	70.6

N=122

Table 5.7. Involvement in extra-mural activities

It is perhaps not altogether surprising to find that 50 per cent of teachers have been involved in paid work of an educational nature, almost invariably night-school teaching, and that 20.5 per cent should also need to undertake part-time or holiday work, although such activities are likely to be most prevalent amongst the youngest and most junior teachers in the sample. As many as 50 per cent of those interviewed are, or have been, involved in 'voluntary' community work or youth work, e.g., helping with youth clubs; running scout troops . . . etc. Teachers are of course also involved in the work of the Teachers' Unions (25 per cent), professional academic bodies, e.g. the Local Historical Association (26 per cent), and take part in the running of external examinations, e.g. serving as CSE moderators (25 per cent).

It is not, however, the case that the degree of involvement in extramural activities, either as a whole or individually, is uniform across all groups of teachers. For instance, when we consider these activities according to the sex of the teacher involved, it appears that although there was no significant degree of difference for any single category between male and female teachers, when the numbers of such activities per person were considered, a significant difference was apparent. This can be seen in Table 5.8[4]. This apparent discrepancy between male and female teachers can probably be accounted for by the curtailment of, particularly, the married woman

teachers' free time by domestic commitments.

It is clear from Table 5.9[5] that the age of a teacher is closely associated with the extent of his extra-mural work, with a distinct increase in such commitments occurring as teachers get older.

It is interesting to compare the increased involvement in extramural activities with age with the opposite tendency shown for extracurricular work, see Chapter 4, note 9. Although the index of extramural activities includes past, as well as present, involvement the tendency appears to be for older teachers to add to their extra-mural activities and seldom to give them up although there are of course many exceptions to this. Teachers in fact undertake such activities for a number of motives. A general classification of these motives yields the count set out in Table 5.10 below.

	N	%
Economic reasons	34	21.8
Community service reasons	34	21.8
Increases promotability	20	12.8
Subject interest	19	12.2
Expected of teachers	17	10.9
Personal/hobby reasons	15	9.6
Teachers are the right sort of people	9	5.8
Would like to but can't	5	3.2
Sense of belonging to community	3	1.9

Table 5.10: Reasons for doing extra-mural activities

The overall ranking is interesting; it shows that just over a fifth of the sampled teachers undertake extra-mural activities in order to supplement their salaries; this is already referred to above.

A further fifth of the reasons given were broadly concerned with the community service aspect of extra-mural activities, and this was seen as a natural extension of the original motivations for entry into the teaching profession:

> School itself is community work; these things are only an extension of community responsibility.

There is, too, a general feeling that teachers are peculiarly well qualified in this direction because of their professional roles.

> Teachers have a natural facility for mixing with people — natural committee animals.
>
> Teachers are a relatively well educated group of the

population, and likely therefore to take part.

Some can't avoid it, to them it's part of the job — perhaps they have more social concern than those in other employment sectors.

The argument being proposed here is that, as we saw earlier, extracurricular activities were significantly associated with the younger teacher seeking promotion. Extra-mural activities specifically associated with the older teacher, on the other hand, are a manifestation of the bonds the teacher develops over time with his community and represent the fulfilment that he derives from it as an alternative to his work place. 'It is a recognition of success other than in the work place', 'they find the commitment and the involvement most worthwhile', to use their own words. Perhaps a blocking of promotion possibilities within the school leads for some to this search for an alternative personal fulfilment in community activities.

II

It is now apparent that the bureaucratization of a teaching career in secondary education influences career development. The fact that a career is composed of a set of sequential stepping stones, and that the teacher advances along these by acquiring the relevant experience and by measuring himself against a timetable, formed by his own ambition and the rate of progress of significant peers, has evident consequences. Clearly, those teachers who are unable to maintain either the current timetable or to progress through all the relevant stages in the correct order are likely to be disadvantaged. There are a number of such groups in teaching. Those who work abroad for a considerable period of time hoping to return to a post in this country represent one such group; let us, however, examine this particular manifestation with regard to two other specific groups of teachers: those who are late entrants into the profession, and women teachers.

The late entrant and career differentiation

In the previous discussions an assumption has been made that we are dealing with teachers who have gone straight from secondary school to college, university or polytechnic and thence directly into the teaching profession. There are, of course, many teachers for whom this is not true. In the sample of interviewed teachers a total of 28 had in fact been recruited to the profession later in their lives. Table 5.11 below shows the distribution of these late entrants in terms of their sex and training.

	Males	Females	Totals
Graduates	3+3 degree equivalent	2+1 degree equivalent	9
Non-graduates	15	4	19
Total	21	7	28

Table 5.11

Their reasons for entering the teaching profession will, of course, vary, but it appears that they might bring with them a maturity of vision which is not quite so circumscribed as that found amongst younger teachers. For many, a strongly vocational commitment is clearly identifiable.

> I had a business and let it go because I found teaching more personally rewarding.

A down-to-earth view of career timetables might well be anticipated from the late entrant, and the previous jobs of a number of those interviewed had involved them in some type of teaching which they had found they liked.

> If you enter teaching as late as I did you're obviously not going to be a head teacher. One must start younger than that, but I have a good hope of getting a Scale 4.
>
> Did some teaching in the Navy and enjoyed it, and found I was quite good at it.

Let us turn to some 'case study' examples afforded by this sample of late entrants to develop the theme of the way in which the school offers different careers to different groups of teachers.

The common career break for women occurs when they leave their occupation to raise a family and, can cause specific problems on re-entry to employment. However, this break can also offer the opportunity for a radical change of career. Some women in our sample had used the occasion to undertake teacher training and so to enter the teaching profession later in life as a new career.

Female Late Entrants

One woman had worked in a local hospital as a laboratory technician but realized that after five years away from the work she would need retraining.

> I thought I might as well retrain as a teacher as pick up lab. techniques again, and it is a convenient thing for a mother to do. I was dumped into infants by the LEA and loathed it, then

> transferred to juniors, then here, and started to think of career opportunities. I realized that I could do more important work.

This teacher's family commitments could restrict her, although it has not done so up until now, perhaps because she is fortunate enough to work in a large conurbation where sufficient employment opportunities are within commuting distance.

Unfortunate circumstances in the family, perhaps the prospect of financial hardship, have caused some women to take up teaching as a career

> . . . believed in staying at home until the last child was in school. Then my husband had to have an operation and I thought I might have to be the breadwinner. My husband was losing his sight and I was tied to the home with a young child, so I went to night school to prepare for the day when I would work, and grew from there.

This woman found teaching attractive because she could be at home when the children were and earn money. There was a shortage of her sort of skills and she was promoted rapidly. In fact she was better paid than many men teachers were. She now understands her career potential, but in her mid-fifties, with the added difficulty of moving to another school, the realization might prove to be an insuperable problem, particularly as she also feels the need for a further professional qualification.

Another woman at the end of the Second World War found herself helping to teach English to immigrants in her spare time. She already had a successful career. Nevertheless she became slowly absorbed into teaching and is now looking for a post as an LEA adviser. It seems that through published work she has become a national figure in her field.

In one further case, any job was good enough 'when my husband's firm went bust'. This woman is academically very well qualified and is now leaving to lecture in a techincal college.

Male Late Entrants

There is not, of course, any single factor which would motivate a number of men to abandon their prospects in one occupation to pursue a career in teaching instead. When the motives of this sample of teachers are considered, it appears as though two, or possibly three, types of motive may account for the career moves, and from these types it is possible to derive further sub-categories.

One main type is clearly characterized by those who had wished,

when they left school, to be teachers, but who, due to other circumstances, had to enter an entirely different occupation.

A second main type is comprised of those who deliberately chose to enter another occupation but who were impelled, when the circumstances of that occupation changed, to look for other employment, in this case teaching.

A third group consists of those who are unsettled and who try teaching (among other occupations) to see whether they like it.

In the first category described above would be found, among others, the following types:

> *Teacher 1* is now 54 years of age. If, when he left school, he had been granted a free choice, he would have gone straight into teaching. The family, however, were in poor financial circumstances so he had to leave school to work in the docks, and obtained a job as a clerk for which he was paid 10 shillings per week. 'Since this was in the 1930s, everybody was delighted.' He took the opportunity to join the emergency training scheme operating for ex-servicemen after the war and entered teaching, steadily climbing the career ladder and externally obtaining academic qualifications. He is now a head of department and looks to heads of section posts or (hopefully) headships of primary schools as his next career move.
>
> *Teacher 2.* Teaching in this man's case was his first career choice but he had failed to get a place in a college of education. He obtained a post in an industrial research establishment, taking more 'A' levels through night school, and applied to a college of education for teacher training as a mature student. His desire to teach over this period had been reinforced by part-time youth work. His wife was able to help with the finances whilst he underwent teaching training. With his qualifications he looks in the future to a pastoral post as a housemaster or head of year.

The second main type deals with those who deliberately entered into a career other than teaching but who ultimately turned to the teaching profession.

> *Teacher 3* left school at $15\frac{1}{2}$ and joined the Navy. He was in the Navy for more than 20 years, reaching commissioned rank, and retired after a full tour of duty with a pension. He took up teaching, partly because he wanted something to do, but

principally because he had always had a hankering to be a teacher, felt that he could help adolescent boys, and that he could bring a lot of experience into teaching. After five years in junior posts he was made a housemaster, a post he feels his experience makes him well fitted for. He has realized now the possibilities of promotion within the educational field and senses his own limitations. But he is now tied to (this) area. He is not over-worried about it, because he has his pension from the Services, and has already had one successful career. 'The first criterion for advancement in the secondary world is that you must have academic qualifications, must give up all interests to get a degree and drop community interests — something will suffer so why should it be community interests?' He has applied for headships and deputy headships but it now does not matter so much. 'If primary headship of a local Church school became vacant then who knows . . .'

Teacher 4 is now 55 years of age and a head of a large department. He became seriously ill at the time that he left school and subsequently went into the advertising display business. That was in the 1930s. He started his own business, which was interrupted by the war, and also did part-time college lecturing. This gave him the taste for teaching. From part-time teaching he became a part-time student to obtain more qualifications and he finally entered full-time teaching as a craft teacher.

It appears that this, 'tasting of teaching', and the realization that this is what they liked doing, is typical of the experiences of a number of those who turned from another occupation into teaching later in life.

Teacher 5 is a man of 27 years of age, whose original career choice was to be a fighter pilot, but who was rejected by the Air Force on medical grounds. He went instead into the aircraft industry as an engineering apprentice. Although he completed his apprenticeship he became more and more unsettled by the state of the aircraft industry, particularly after the contracts for a number of aircraft on which he had worked were cancelled by changes in government policy. He looked around for a more secure and fulfilling occupation and entered teaching on the strength of his technical competencies after teacher training. He now looks to taking a degree as the only way he has of obtaining any further promotion.

Teacher 6 is a 38 year old man, who, after taking an Honours degree, 'didn't fancy teaching', and went into the family business. He took a job as a part-time teacher, ultimately accepting a full-time post 'to help out with the family finances' He now wants to stay put, has no particular wish to move, and is not looking for another post.

Teacher 7 is another 38 year old man. He undertook an apprenticeship, after his period of National Service, and worked in the steel industry as a design engineer. He was 'led into teaching through prayer'. He and his wife want to be missionaries in a leper colony.

The third type of man entering the teaching profession after having had other jobs specifically includes those who were unsettled in their previous occupations, and who convey a sense of regarding teaching as only a transitory stage.

Teacher 8. This is the case of a man who has tried a number of occupations, who still sees himself as unsettled, and who is dissatisfied with all the types of career he has undertaken to date. He initially went into accountancy, but failed his first part examinations twice. Then he joined the RAF and applied for a commission, but was not accepted for officer training school. He subsequently attended a college of education and started teaching in a secondary modern school. 'As a non-graduate there are only two spheres of promotion open to you — backward children (for whom I feel no sympathy or patience), and librarianship'. He is concentrating on the latter. His original intention was to be a head of department but he quickly realized he would never get there without a degree, so he is now looking to librarianship in the further education/higher education/college sector. He has in fact been interviewed for a post, 'but this would have entailed moving house and I couldn't afford it'. He does not really want to move yet because he is doubtful whether he 'can get in well enough with the headteacher to get a good reference yet'. He would be willing to move school 'if I would be better off financially and could get a good reference and it was a job in the place where I live. 'He does not apply for some posts because of the financial burden of moving and he is also waiting for his eldest child to grow up. He is dissatisfied with himself and says that he 'is idle and doesn't

make a push to move'. He feels disillusioned, and that he has always been an under-achiever.

Teacher 9. Here the member of staff concerned described a period of being completely unsettled, beginning while he was still at school, which he left at 15 years of age. He was, successively, a labourer for one year, a shipping clerk for one year, in the police force for two years, a Ministry of Labour Employment officer for two years, a milkman for three months and a bus conductor for six months. At the age of 17 he had realized that qualifications matter and taken 'O' and 'A' levels at night school. He applied 'on spec' to a college and got in' and there he did a four-year BEd course. He now wants to accumulate a variety of types of school experience before applying for a college post. He has come into teaching because he has a desire to give others the benefit of his (life's) experience. He had a chip on his shoulder and felt that his own education had been stunted by the 11+: he wanted a BEd to feel equal to those from grammar schools and therefore felt able to help other kids to avoid the problems he fell into.

The transition from another occupation into teaching is not necessarily smooth. In the case of the examples mentioned above it appears that it can cause extreme difficulties. It has already been shown that one teacher had been financially helped by his wife while he trained; others have spent considerable amounts of time undertaking part-time study and are still doing this, since the need to obtain qualifications appears to be so strong.

> . . . got secondment for teaching diploma at art college, felt that this would be most useful. Actually I haven't needed it yet, but feel it has helped me to talk to other teachers as equals.

One man working in industry became a 'buyer for a year to allow him to obtain certificates, then did HNC in Mechanical Engineering at night school before going to a technical teachers' college for one year'. With this background he was offered a Scale 1 post. He now hopes that a degree will enhance his promotion prospects.

Generally their ambition seems to be circumscribed. Apart from two of the men who switched into teaching comparatively early in their careers, both of whom had Honours degrees, it seems as if the skills and competencies brought in from the Services and from industry and commerce sometimes allow quite rapid promotion to the mid-post level in a school, when there they seem to stick there, however. Some of them accept this more philosophically than others.

One man summed up his terminal career goal as 'head of department in a secondary comprehensive school' — he feels he is 'not qualified for a higher post.' This post will be (his) final one. 'One must wait for dead men's shoes'. He would move if he were 'offered a better job, but I won't be and I'm not looking'. 'When the children were younger I couldn't have moved and by the time they grew up I was too old — no definite loss, just a feeling of "if only I'd been able to move".'

The move into teaching as a career is clearly easiest in the direct transition from school through higher education into the teaching profession. Others do make the change, but the later this change occurs the more difficult the transition appears to become. It seems as if the problems of changing careers then fuses with the known problems of professional advancement within the teaching profession and, with the known problems of timetables and stages. It is evident that for many a considerable drop in salary at the time they changed career may have been necessary.

> . . . Went to teachers' college, trained in metal work and got a job in a new secondary modern school. It grew very rapidly and posts were created but I didn't get one because the headteacher didn't believe in giving Scale posts to those in their job, so I said I would leave and applied for other jobs but didn't get one. I applied for one year's secondment (which required three years's service with the authority) and took a supplementary course in handicrafts to help promotion prospects and for more money. During secondment I applied for other jobs and didn't get one because the headteacher gave bad references, so in the end I resigned and started again with a temporary assistant's job.

The teaching profession does not necessarily go out of its way to help those who have made a late change from other occupational spheres into teaching.

It becomes apparent that the interruptions to timetables and stages, associated as they inevitably are with values, have the net result of affording to the late entrant expectations which are invariably pitched lower than for other groups of teachers. Let us now turn to another group of teachers, women teachers, and see how, for some, the careers they expect in teaching differ from those anticipated by men in this sample.

Women Teachers and Career Differentiation

Although we are not exclusively concerned with the married

teacher, it might be true to think of the married woman teacher, in particular as having two careers, one as a teacher and one within her family, and with probably a third in which she is involved with that of her husband. Clearly this can cause a conflict of loyalties which is resolved in many different ways.

> . . . pull in both directions, home life and school: I try not to let one interfere with the other, but it gets more and more difficult. If I stay late, it upsets people at home, so I have less time to do my own work (at school) which frustrates me.

A young married woman teacher reflected on the same point when she said

> I will go on teaching when married, but I wouldn't fancy having a very responsible job when I have children — I'll be too committed at home.

Another young woman frankly stated that:

> I haven't a great vocation. I am engaged and it looks like a good career to combine with marriage.

For many married women teachers facts that must be faced are the future of their teaching career when they leave for child rearing, and the strategies to be used, the values to be held, in order to pick up their career as a teacher again.

> You need to prove that you can teach again, and it's not fair to take a job for one year only (and then look for promotion). But then, past experience should allow you to apply for a more senior job . . . I feel also that the experience of raising children would then allow me better to take on pastoral work.

This theme of pastoral work constantly recurs. It includes work with handicapped children, remedial work, and so on, as well as types of responsibilities found usually within pastoral systems in the school, and seems to present distinct attractions as a career alternative to the returning woman teacher.

Let us examine this and other issues by exploring how the school offers different careers to the woman teacher.

It is not, of course, the case that female teachers constitute a homogeneous type of teacher, any more than that teachers as a whole constitute such a type. In fact, amongst the female teachers interviewed in the course of this research, it seems useful to regard these teachers as falling into one or other of four major groups displaying different attitudes towards the profession and different

perceptions of a career within teaching. It is not suggested that this is either a complete or the only possible categorization: it would be surprising if there were not other categorizations.

The first of these groups consists of women who appear to be dedicated to their career. Their working lives are characterized particularly by the continuity of employment, whether married or unmarried, or in some cases by a short break in the career in order to raise a family, returning to teaching as soon as possible, and thereafter pursuing the career in a manner indistinguishable from that of the more ambitious male teacher.

The second group may be thought of as consisting of those female teachers who intend to leave the profession on getting married.

The third group comprises married women who intend to have a break within their career for child-rearing, but who will then return to teaching, regarding it, however, as having no more than equal importance with family commitments. There is no implication, however, that while these women do not pursue their career with a single-minded devotion, their performance as school teachers is in any way impaired.

The fourth group of female teachers consists of young women, who may or may not intend marriage, and who may later prove to belong to one of the preceding groups.

Although the career structure in secondary education appears to have been transformed for men, it has clearly been revolutionized for women: a female head of department of 23 years' experience, said: 'When a woman got married, she thought she had given up her career, and left teaching.'

A (then) senior mistress, with 15 years' experience, pointed out:

> In the 1950s, a woman graduate went into a grammar school — and that was that. The opportunities are now transformed. If I was starting now, I might have come to a different decision as to what I am, and what my career should look like.

It certainly seems to be the case, whatever the reasons, that in most schools the majority of senior positions have gone to male rather than to female teachers, reflecting, amongst other things, a situation bemoaned by head teachers, that 'female teachers do not apply for senior posts in school'. However, the table 5.12[6] below, representing the distribution of posts by sex, in one of the sampled schools, is meant to illustrate the state of affairs that could prevail.

It seemed inevitable that those posts awarded to women teachers, and equivalent to head of department status, were given in home

	Graduate (or grad. equiv.)		Non-graduate		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Senior post	2	1	—	—	3
Head of department	8	1	3	2	14
Welfare post	—	—	6	1	7
Other allowance	2	2	9	10	23
Assistant Scale 1	1	6	6	7	20
Totals	13	10	24	20	67

Part-time and temporary assistants excluded

Table 5.12. Distribution of staff to posts in a secondary comprehensive school by sex and graduate/non-graduate status. (Staff:pupil ratio is 1 to 18.1)

economics, needlework, girls PE, and so on. Many of the younger female teachers had, at interview, indicated their dissatisfaction with the career structure traditionally offered to women in schools very forcibly, and had expressed, somewhat emotively, that they were not going to end up doing the job of the traditional senior mistress and, more pertinently, behaving like the traditional senior mistress.

With this in mind it is interesting that female teachers seem to be generally very aware of the types of career possibilities which are open to them, and Table 5.13[7] shows the numbers of male and female teachers who aspire to pastoral (house head, deputy house head, year head, deputy head of section) as opposed to other posts, indicating that there is a tendency, significant at the 1 per cent level, for female teachers to be more likely to have pastoral ambitions than male teachers.

From this sample of teachers, there is some slight evidence to suggest that women attend fewer in-service courses and are less involved in extra curricular activities than their male colleagues. Women with family commitments, however, have fewer opportunities of involvement when the timing of these activities is considered.

> Started doing a BSc in economics, did two years, but found I couldn't cope with the pressure of work and had to give it up. I have regretted it ever since.

But it should not be implied that women are any less committed.

> As far as my subject is concerned, I have so little free time — for instance, I even have to allocate from 10.30 p.m. to 11 p.m. for reading the latest Margaret Drabble novel.

It has been suggested earlier that many women will find themselves in the position of having to interrupt their teaching career in order to raise a family. Those who do so may be considered as falling into one of two major types. Firstly those who, on returning to teaching, attempt to 'pick up' their careers as near as possible to the level of seniority at which they left off, who will thenceforward pursue their original career goals, or may find themselves in the position of breadwinner to the family. Secondly, there will be a category of women who on returning to teaching will regard their careers as less important than those of their husbands and their family interests.

In the interviewed sample there were 11 female teachers who at one stage or another had interrupted their career to have a family. On average it seemed that they had taught for approximately six years before leaving for childrearing, and interrupted their teaching careers for between six and seven years before returning, initially usually as part-time teachers.

On considering first those women who wished to re-establish their careers as soon as possible after a break, it seems that women in this position will necessarily have to acquaint themselves before leaving with the problems and tactics of re-entry into the profession. It is not clear where such women are able to obtain the information that they need, although the professional associations are one source of information. An illustration of the sort of forethought necessary is given by the following example.

One woman who was second in charge of a large department was leaving teaching to have a baby. She was not sure how long she might be away, but realized that she would have to return to teaching as an assistant, probably, she thought for about two years or so, and then she would try for a strongly pastoral post such as deputy to head of section. She felt very strongly that there would be a need for her to prove again that she could teach, but also felt that her past experience should allow her to apply for a senior job where there would be more administration than in her present job, 'less examination and high pressure academic work.' She felt also that the experience of raising children would then allow her to take on pastoral work.

Another example of the desire to re-establish a career, although

one which involves different goals, is provided by another young married woman on Scale 1, who has been teaching for three years, and would like ultimately to be a college lecturer; she said that in order to do this she must be a head of department before leaving to have a family. She would hope then to return to a head of department post before applying for college lectureships.

There are of course women who, while wishing to raise a family, manage so to organize themselves that this does not involve a break in continuity.

Two teachers, however, even with a break to have children, by the judicious timing of a birth and taking on part-time teaching, managed to have a relatively uninterrupted career, in each case reaching high office.

One woman did say that she did not intend to let her family interrupt her career, she would put the children in a nursery. In two cases only was it found that the wife had moved her husband and children so that she could be promoted.

An intention to return to teaching at a particular level is often easier to formulate than to put into practice. The fact of the break itself may cause the teacher to lose confidence in her classroom ability; the experience of child-rearing may alter her perception of her needs and abilities; and a consequent period of re-adjustment to and re-assessment of her teaching work may be necessary.

A typical mode of re-entry was to begin with a part-time post, in the hope that this work-load can be expanded as opportunities arise, until the woman could be taken on to the full-time staff of the school. This way of finding out whether she likes the school and whether the school likes her seemed to be a commonly adopted approach.

However carefully a woman may have planned her re-entry to the profession, various unexpected factors may modify original career plans. One such factor could be a change in the family circumstances necessitating the acceptance of the first job which presents itself as convenient in terms of location and time.

One teacher having taught for five years, then had six months at home to have a baby, then, because of her husband's financial difficulties returned to teaching for 18 months. She had five years at home with the young children, then her marriage broke up.

> I did junior work while the children were young (a) because of the house and (b) because I could share their interests — moved on to a secondary modern, changed subjects from English to French — I'm now in charge of Latin and also teach

> English. If I'd stuck to English I'd be further up the tree; it's a mistake to be too versatile. When I started teaching I thought I might end as a head teacher but I have let opportunities pass because I had to do two jobs, breadwinner and home and mother — my husband failed to pay maintenance — wanted to give children stability so turned down a head of department which meant moving — each time I did the next thing that came to hand — the ambition became to hold down a job and give the children a happy life — I realized over the last two to three years that I had missed the bus but I couldn't have done anything else.

She now looks towards a position as second in charge or head of department in a small girls' school in the area.

> It took a long time to put down roots here and without a husband, at my age, it is easy to get isolated, and hard to make friends in a new place, so I am reluctant to leave.

Another teacher recounted how the break she was to have from teaching was shorter than she had anticipated: 'I went back into teaching after the first child because I needed the money.' It was also a time of teacher-shortage and a deputy head came looking for her asking if she would teach! This she did for one year. Her husband was moved by his firm twice in a relatively short time, which necessitated two new jobs — all at Scale 1 status. Then she had 18 months off to have a daughter and returned to teaching before moving to her present job: 'About five years ago I had to cut down to keep my health; I have high blood pressure.'

In most cases it is apparent that the husband is seen as the breadwinner, although the first years of marriage often prove very expensive and dictate that the wife should work, sometimes in fact supporting the husband in his training. It seems to be expected that her future career is secondary to her husband's and that career moves will be dictated by where the husband goes.

For the married woman teacher, change in the husband's economic circumstances will often be the cause of seeking advancement:

> 'I've been married for four years, and expected to have left teaching by now. I hoped for a family but my husband has left industry and gone for teacher training, so we are short of money, and I am still teaching and have time to be ambitious. I'm going to be a head of department in a small secondary modern in September, but I'm not sure if it's the best step upwards (towards county adviser). I have to move because of my husband.

It seems as if many, although aware of their potential within

teaching, are not so critically concerned with the furtherance of their own careers.

> If really dedicated I might have tried very hard whilst I was in my thirties to go for a college post and forget my family. If motivated by financial considerations alone I would have gone for a headship — now I cannot move to suit myself — I have a husband and three children to suit.

Marriage and children can often mean re-defining career goals and the motives for teaching. Even if the teacher concerned is still ambitious, a school that suits her family circumstances cannot lightly be given up. The needs of her children, even children of school age, are still very restricting.

> This school suits me so well, it suits my desire for promotion, my home and kids are here (7-9 years of age) and I am certainly stuck here for ten years, because of them.

Just as urgency will often dictate the taking of a post which ignores the seniority achieved in the pre-break teaching experience for women who return to teaching, so the women who follow their husbands from district to district may find that their chances of promotion are considerably curtailed in spite of their obvious competence. A case which reveals this to a marked degree is provided by a woman whose total teaching experience now amounts to some thirty years, of which the first twenty-three were spent as an assistant teacher, in seven different schools and six widely separated parts of the country. On arriving in her present area, however, after her husband's retirement, she has risen rapidly to a very senior position in the school.

On examining the careers of a small sub-group of women teachers, who told us that they had followed their husbands as they were moved by their firms from one area to another within this country and abroad, two things stood out as quite striking. The first is the dedication of effort that must be applied in obtaining another job in a strange school and strange surroundings, and the second is that a few of these women were able to use these moves to positive effect enhancing their career and achieving substantial promotion.

One woman initially moved from post to post in five parts of England without attaining any seniority. During the period of child-rearing she continued to teach but on a part-time basis.

> When I came back into full-time teaching I decided I wasn't going to stay as a Scale 1 teacher.

Her determination to succeed was such that even when her husband's firm posted him abroad she turned the disruption to good use by gaining a position of seniority in an 'international school'. She

was then able, on the family's return to England, to turn this to good account by achieving an equivalent position.

It is worth recording that it is not only a woman's husband or children who can initiate her moves around the country. An example of other motivations is found in the case of an unmarried woman whose early career had been spent in grammar schools where she achieved a head of department post. The illness of her parents disrupted her career, occasioning a move to a different part of the country, through which she lost her previous seniority.

Let us very briefly now look at the career characteristics of the five women in our sample who held head or deputy posts. All of them, to a greater or lesser extent, showed an awareness of the problems facing the female teacher discussed above and three of them display career patterns which appear to be characteristic of the careers of married women teachers in general. All five were graduate trained.

> I don't think I would have got anywhere if I had been college trained. Men get off to a tremendous start.
>
> When I started, it was the best career for a girl. It was the only thing that a girl could go in for with a reasonable salary, looking forward to a pension and it seemed a safe career. I have always liked acting, and teaching is so like acting;
>
> There were few suitable careers open to women then. There wasn't the advice or encouragement that is given today. So what else to do?
>
> I did think of being an archivist, but I was engaged and thought I was more likely to pick up a job I was keen on quickly in teaching;
>
> Had no idea. I only knew that I didn't want to teach. I hated the postgraduate certificate course, and it was only when I was in a job that it clicked, and my father had always been anxious for me to be a teacher.

Three of this group married early in their careers, and exhibit the characteristic pattern of following their husbands' moves around the country, taking whatever jobs were available. They had respectively 3, 4 and 5 jobs at Scale 1 level in respectively 3, 3 and 4 different parts of the country. Two of them interrupted their teaching (for 6 and 8 years) during this part of their careers to take time to raise their family. One of them described her reasons for returning to the profession:

> I re-entered teaching not because of ambition but to get rid of academic fat, and get to grips with 'O'-level work again.

She chose to re-enter the profession by taking a part-time job for three years, a usual course of action, so it seemed, for women in this situation. From this part-time post, she ultimately became head of department at the same school; in fact, for all three of these top post women their promotion from Scale 1 to head of department coincided with a relatively long period when their husbands stayed in the same area. In short, once the married woman teacher can offer some career stability to the school, then it can capitalize upon her experience and her ability.

It will be remembered that for the male top post teachers, promotions characteristically took place between schools rather than within the school, suggesting that for men the willingness to move for promotion was an important contributory factor to their rise in the educational ladder. For the three married women here however, it appears that the opposite is the case: promotion came only when it was possible to stay in one place and make their abilities felt in one school. One of these three married women was at the time of interview in a top post at the school in which she had achieved all her promotion; the other two had moved, after rising in one school, to another in a not too distant area. Both had moved their families in order to take their present posts, though not without hesitation in both cases; and all three of them feel that they will not move again until family circumstances (in one case children at school, and for the others their husband's career) permit. None of the three cherish any serious ambitions for the future, though one said that a sideways move to a similar job with less administration and more teaching was conceivably on the cards, and another thought that a happy combination of circumstances might one day permit her to take a job in a college, or even to become a headmistress, although such an accident she believed to be very unlikely.

It seems that these three married women are teachers of great ability, and have shown both a considerable degree of selflessness in their devotion to their families, and to their husband's career. Although none of them is actively seeking promotion, it would be foolish to suggest that they will not achieve even more than they have already, provided that circumstances allow.

The remaining two top post women, who are unmarried, exhibit very different career patterns, which are in some ways more similar to those of the top post men previously discussed. Neither had held more than one job at Scale 1 level, and both had spent the whole of

their teaching careers in just one area, to which they both appear tied by their family (parental) circumstances. One of them has been in the same school for all save the first six years of her teaching life, and has effectively 'grown with the school', achieving a senior post in the days when it was a small, prestigious grammar school, and retaining the post while expanding its function as the school grew, amalgamated and finally became comprehensive. The other has taught in four schools and, like her male peers has moved for promotion between each school. Both these women are now in posts which they expect to be their last before they retire.

Although it is impossible to generalize from the cases of only five teachers, it seems probable that there may exist in the teaching profession at least two major types of women who achieve the most senior posts in comprehensive schools: the married woman, whose career is subordinated to that of her husband, but who will take advantage of settled periods in her husband's career to further her own; and the unmarried woman, who may pursue her career with much the same intensity and singlemindedness as does the ambitious man. It seems possible, from our interviews, that amongst the younger women in the sample, there may well be emerging a third type of female potential top post teacher, who, though married, will pursue her career on equal terms with her husband's pursuit of his, although even her rise on the educational ladder will have to contend with the many problems that face the woman in the teaching profession.

Teachers in Terminal Posts

Let us now concentrate on the teacher at a self-confessed terminal point of his career, at self perceived success and failure, and at the valuables he has accumulated as a consequence of the career that schools have offered him.

The end of a career in teaching need not necessarily imply the fulfillment of the hopes with which the teacher began, nor may it adequately reflect the post the teacher wished to obtain or the post for which he was most suited; most, at some stage in their career, will have compromised, and this may have been done with varying degrees of frustration, resignation, or, more simply, may be a coming to terms with themselves.

> When you get older, you come to terms with your limitations.
> When you're younger, you dream of getting to grips with them.

Even those who have achieved the highest post in a school may have sensed their limitations, and have wished to re-define further goals for themselves; or they may have been frustrated in an original ambition:

> I look back with regret that I never used my (higher degree) to follow up academic work, for when I entered teaching I thought industry was the only other available alternative.

For many the ultimate goal at which they aim is constantly being redefined. With greater experience and the knowledge that accrues from this, the expectation would be for the average teacher to re-define more fulfillable goals based upon the accumulation of experience. However, it does not follow that the teacher would make use of that knowledge; his values might constrain his actions, or, in other cases, external circumstances might constrain potential behaviour.

> I thought of myself as a teacher: I came in as emergency trained, and thought I would be a class teacher for the rest of my life ... I have kids at school, and the illness of my wife means that she would never move, so I am stuck. It has stopped me from applying for all sorts of jobs.

Perhaps one of the most poignant conflicts is the re-statement of original motives that induced entry to the profession. For it seems that many suffer acute conflict when the realization is paramount that future promotion lies outside the classroom, in administration and not in teaching, that 'you need to get out to get on'.

> Used to be ambitious to be a county adviser, but I realized I didn't have the necessary qualifications. You can't put the clock back. There was no financial stimulus, no secondment then, it meant giving up the job which it didn't occur to me to do. It's too late, I regret it. I was offered a place on a course at a college of education, but went to teach somewhere else instead. It was the 1930s, I was one of five children, and we needed the money. I've gone beyond the stage of dreaming.

A backward look at one's career and a retrospective view of events in one's life might allow the perception of mistakes that one made and also the rationalization of failure because of a lack of 'career' success.

> Most teachers realize they won't make much progress in the classroom, they see colleagues taken out into non-teaching work — clerical work, not even skilled, leisured and earning large sums; and they feel slighted. It is a prostitution of their professional ability. I became aware of this four years ago (after

20 years). Before that I was quite content.

However, as has already been said, it is not axiomatic that the awareness of opportunities is concomitant with the opportunity of grasping them.

Even though a sense of ambition may be induced, not all teachers become equally ambitious, and not all would pursue the next post at any cost.

> I wouldn't mind teaching for the rest of my life, but I don't want to become a head teacher or a deputy head.

An awareness of one's own limitations and the lack of relevant experience or qualifications may also prove to be a severe limitation.

> Realized this year when head said 'you've gone about as far as you can go' — you get hints — head comes and offers you a worthwhile responsibility and you think it over.
>
> Some colleagues devote their lives to making the right move at the right time, in it for the money etc., — cut and dried moves, that's not for me. I'm not ambitious because I have to limit my time. I've decided I'm happy to take a back seat.

It is apparent that the bureaucratization of education might also have a divisive influence on the staff of a school. The advent of large numbers of comprehensive schools, extremely large in size, and the proliferation of positions of responsibility associated with their size has transformed the career structure for teaching staff. For some of the older teachers in the sample, it seems as though this perception is particularly poignant.

> Career structure has changed since 1944 — comprehensive schools. It is now far more crystallized, and you can see steps in a career far more clearly — you can't afford to move and buy a new house, though.

One head of department looking back over his 29 years of teaching, wistfully evoked the days when the nuances of hierarchical position were not paramount.

> When I became a teacher in a grammar school, the only promotion then was to headship. Senior mastership only meant the senior member of staff — it didn't mean a career. You either became a head teacher or you stayed put in your school, and you settled in the locality.

Apart from those who leave the profession early, it is anticipated that those holding self-perceived terminal goals will fall into three main categories: those who feel themselves frustrated in their ambitions; those who have redefined their ambitions to suit their

circumstances; and those who have succeeded in achieving the goals of their ambitions. Not all of those in the latter category particularly will aspire to the most senior positions in a school.

Although the possibility exists for teachers to reach what they consider to be their terminal goal in a comparatively short time, and this may in fact prove to be relatively junior posts, it seems more likely that those who claim to be in a terminal position will fall into the older range of the teachers interviewed, and are more likely to be occupying mid posts or top posts in a school. This is set out in Table 5.14 below.

Present post	Male	Female
Scale 1 teacher	3	2
Graded post	1	1
Mid post	10	7
Top post	5	3
Total	19	13

Age	Male	Female
21+	0	0
26+	0	5
36+	2	1
46+	17	7
Total	19	13

Table 5.14. Those who state that their present posts are terminal by present post and by age

A distinction should be made between those who state that their present post is categorically terminal, i.e. they are not and will not look for another job, of whom there were 19 such respondents, and those who, whilst looking for another job, anticipated that their present post would be that from which they would retire, this yields an additional 13 respondents.

It seems obvious that there should be a sub-group of women over the age of 26 who regarded themselves as occupying terminal posts, since this is an age when women will often leave teaching to have their families, and will be restricted in employment opportunities by the need to look after young children. Four of the teachers who fell into this age group met this description. They were in their late twenties and early thirties, generally having between seven and ten years' teaching experience behind them. They turned to teaching because it 'looked like a good career to combine with marriage'. They appear to be 'satisfied with (their) present post — its responsibility and financial rewards are adequate for what (they) want'.

> Hoping for a family and am now trying for one, now we can afford it. I hope it will be very soon, and then I will leave. Otherwise I will leave in five years time, when my husband will be better off — we're now still paying off furniture and things.

It seemed that, in this sample of interviewed teachers, few were really frustrated by their inability to achieve an aspired-for post, and there may be many reasons to explain this. Coming to terms with apparent failure manifests itself in a number of ways. The following examples may be typical.

One teacher, after a successful career elsewhere, entered teaching to be in the classroom and to have contact with children. He is most frustrated to find that other teachers are concerned with promotion, and that 'promotion takes you out of the classroom'.

Two others expressed considerable bitterness and frustration because the world had changed around them, leaving them stranded doing a different job in an entirely different type of school from the one that they had originally joined. They wait somewhat impatiently for retirement. Another, a craft teacher, has gone as far as his qualifications will allow. Promotion within his subject, he feels, as we seem to have heard so often, 'depends on dead men's shoes'.

One of the teachers, a woman, would have liked to have been a senior mistress but thinks that now all opportunity is gone. She has taught in a number of schools in a number of areas, explained best by her husband's moves around the country; she took 18 months' leave from teaching to have a daughter and had never particularly thought of promotion — she rather thought of a career within teaching, taking jobs as they came along. But 'just as men get too old for promotion, so do women'. She seems a little embittered because she did not apply for a certain post when it became vacant, although she likes the new incumbent and had in fact to teach her some aspects of the ropes. She 'put feelers out when the job came up' but it was suggested that 'she didn't stand a chance', 'you need degrees to get on' and her 'lack of a degree militated against her'.

> Perhaps it is easier to get a job in a school where you are not known. There is a feeling among college-trained staff that there is an undercurrent against them ... It is difficult to work with someone you have competed against and lost.

An extreme example of the consequences of ill-planned career development occurred in the case of a divorced teacher, with one child, who after more than 20 years in teaching is 'giving up because

of the humiliating way I was rejected' for an advertised post at her present school. Her strategy has been to settle herself into a job and aim for the next post above when she felt that she could do it. She is particularly hurt by this rejection. She is giving up teaching 'because things have gone wrong. It would be impossible for the other woman to do the job if I were here. I will take another job in another school, if ever I feel less totally crushed.'

Most in fact have come to terms with themseives and rationalized their apparent lack of success. 'I used to have ambitions 20 years ago to be an adviser, but it's all gone now, the dreams.' They expect to be in their present post up to retirement. Perhaps, if opportunities of promotion had been greater when they started teaching, perhaps if more grants had been available when they were students, the situation could have been changed. They have had their dreams, and 'not everyone can be a headmaster, a college lecturer or LEA adviser'; their job is rewarding, they like the craft of teaching, and after all, promotion is out of the classroom.

One woman, holding a mid post, is divorced and a non-graduate. She does not really want promotion but often there seems to be a nagging doubt. 'Should one have tried harder?' She feels that perhaps she should go into a college but as she does not want to leave the classroom, she stays. When she began, it was thought that when a woman got married she must give up her career. Though she was aware of career opportunities from the start she felt that she 'might be a bit past it now, they don't want anyone as old as me. This place is stuck with me. I've fulfilled my ambitions by staying teaching and taking on a sizeable job here.'

One other woman had in the past applied unsuccessfully for headships, but has decided that she is happier in her present school.

> It is better to be one of a team, and this is a far bigger job than the headship of a girls' grammar school.

Not all those who occupy terminal posts will be leaving teaching in the near future. One woman aged 36, was quite content to spend the rest of her career in the same post at the same school, and two men of roughly the same age anticipated that they would stay in the same posts until they retired. One of them occupied a top post. It is not that he is unambitious, rather that he has very firm roots in his area: 'I could be a head teacher if I were willing to move to ..., but why should one have to uproot oneself and one's family?' He is realistic enough to realize that this puts an enormous restriction on the possibilities. A subsequent change of headmaster at his school, however, brought about a rapid move on his part. The second man, of

over 36, was involved in running a family business for many years; this is now sufficiently established for him to take on a post of full-time teaching. Without saying it, the teacher hinted that an increased administration/teaching load which would follow from his being promoted would conflict with outside interests. Perhaps he is really 'doing very nicely thank you', although still a Scale 1 teacher.

One man is choosing premature retirement. He returned some years ago from a career abroad, and his wife runs a successful business. He did not intend he said 'to blow himself up, to have a heart attack — life is too short'. He was retiring ten years early and looked forward again to the opportunity of foreign travel.

One woman in the 36 plus group is leaving for reasons other than to care for children. In fact, she has determined not to have any. Her family operate a successful business with which she helps in the evenings, weekends and holidays. The pressure of work has become such that she has had to choose between going into the business on a full-time basis and her teaching career. She has felt very pulled between the loyalty to her family and to the school, and regrets leaving her school as she found great enjoyment in teaching.

Although teachers are seen as a sector of the working population who will remain in harness to the end, this need not prevent them from planning for their approaching retirement. Indeed they may choose, with the recognition that the end of their career is in sight, to abandon whatever other ambitions may still remain unfulfilled and to take whatever post offers itself that will allow them to establish themselves in the area of the country in which they wish to spend their retirement.

It seems clear, however, that many of these teachers found that the terminal post crept up on them; they realized that they were not going to obtain further promotion, or that retirement was, after all, not too far away. There are, on the other hand, those who achieved top posts in their early thirties and who now face, perhaps, thirty years of headship.

As we see, the notion of success is likely to create an ambivalence, and even contention, when the topic of teacher careers is under discussion by a group of teachers: by implication, the timetables by which success is achieved are an equal source of dissension. The leisurely rise of an individual with his sights set on an ultimate headship before retirement seems very different from the meteoric career of the teacher who feels that the choice is between a headship by the age of 38 and a subsequent career in perhaps another area of

education, or failure. It is plain that a teacher who sees from the start all the moves necessary to further his whole career is in a position of advantage over one who does not. The man with this level of insight is likely to find that his subsequent experience crystallizes and reinforces his original perception. With the incipient contraction of the secondary sector and the latest round of financial cutbacks, new career timetables will come into existence and further refinements to the gatekeeping devices operating between career stages will necessarily be generated. More teachers might well find themselves occupying their terminal posts earlier in their careers. The school must cope with and develop the satisfied as well as the dissatisfied. Two examples, bringing out contrasts in career patterns, may serve to illustrate this.

It must cope with the man who, on graduating, wondered what to do with his honours degree in an arts subject, finally plumped for teaching, and took a post in a grammar school. In his first post he realized the nature of the career game, and therefore set himself a tight timetable. His first task was to show academic credibility so he took sixth form 'A' levels and achieved a tolerable level of success. He therefore looked to his next post. This goal was a head of department post in his subject and relevant in-service training ensured that he obtained a post within his timetable constraints. Comprehensive schools presented an area of opportunity and therefore for the next challenge, he saw the need to demonstrate competence with, and understanding of, non-academic children. He determined to move sideways into a head of house post, of necessity in a comprehensive school. Again, relevant in-service training with the requisite visibility ensured the success of one of his applications. Clearly the next move was into a deputy headship. This entailed the need for training in management and administration and also the acquisition of visibility with those who might influence a shortlist. A willingness to move himself and his family to any part of the country where posts were available, and a sufficiency of extra curricular and community activities to establish his all round worth, ensured his appointment to a post within his timetable. And when, at the age of 36 we interviewed him, he was shaping himself for headship, a post he achieved within two years.

This contrasts quite strikingly with another honours graduate who chose teaching as his first career choice. He had entered a grammar school with the intention of sixth form teaching: a task which gave him high personal fulfilment and happiness, and in which his

experience and seniority had made him head of department. His grammar school, however, absorbed a then 'central' school which brought him into contact with children of a level of ability he had not dealt with before, and had not anticipated teaching . Subsequently, his school absorbed a boys' secondary modern, and then ultimately a girls' secondary modern to form the comprehensive school in which we met him. There, at 55 years of age, he was head of one of the biggest and most important departments in the school. As he frankly and honestly pointed out, though he occupied one of the major jobs in the school he had neither the training nor a predisposition towards his task. In fact, his presence was probably counterproductive, and since he could not afford to stop teaching because he needed his pension, then what could the educational world offer to him and those like him? He had many skills and had many years of experience, but he saw nowhere for himself to go, either upwards, downwards or sideways. So he sat, frustratedly, waiting for retirement.

Notes

1.

A similar, although more extended, list of items was used by Hilsum and Start for the NFER. Five of the items in the scale used in this research were reformations of items used in the NFER questionnaire.

2.

	Very satis-factory		Quite satis-factory		No reaction		Unsatis-factory		Very unsatis-factory	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-5 years' experience	2	5	11	29	11	29	12	32	2	5
6-10 years' experience	7	33	8	38	2	10	3	14	1	5
11-15 years' experience	4	18	9	41	5	23	4	18	0	0
16+ years' experience	13	32	19	46	4	10	4	10	1	2

Chisquare value calculated from a 3x4 matrix (the 5 point scale contracted to 3 point as indicated by brackets above) is 17.887, which is significant for 6 degrees of freedom, at the 1% level.

Table 5.5. The Administrative content of the Job

3.

$x^2=7.788$ $p<0.01$	Graduates	Non-graduates
Pastoral ambitions	7	17
Non-pastoral ambitions	52	36

Among the sampled teachers, non-graduates appeared more likely to have ambitions in the directions of pastoral posts in schools, and had thus tailored the coat of their ambitions to fit the cloth of then current educational practice.

Table 5.6. Aspirations towards pastoral and non-pastoral posts by graduate and non-graduate teachers

4.

	No. of teachers	Mean no. of extra-mural activities	Standard deviation
Male teachers	71	2.6197	1.6764
Female teachers	51	1.9803	1.5032

$t=2.15$	$p<0.05$

Table 5.8. Degree of involvement in extra-mural activities by sex of teachers

5.

	Age 21-25		Age 26-35		Age 36-45		Age 46+		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Has done no extra-mural activities	2	11	8	21	2	7	4	11	16	13
1 or two extra-mural activities	13	68	15	39	13	43	11	31	52	43
3 or 4 extra-mural activities	4	21	14	37	10	33	12	34	40	33
5+ extra-mural activities	0	0	1	3	5	17	8	23	14	11

$x^2=17.479$	$df=9$	$p<0.05$

Table 5.9. Degree of involvement in extra-mural activities by age of teacher

6.
This table also appears in LYONS, G. (1976). *Heads' Tasks.* Windsor: NFER Publishing Company.

7.

$x^2 = 11.889$ $p < 0.01$	**Males**	**Females**
Pastoral ambitions	6	18
Non-pastoral ambitions	65	33

Table 5.13. Pastoral ambitions, by sex of teacher

Chapter 6

The Picture in Perspective

The intention of this research is to provide illustrative data to demonstrate the viability of a theoretical model. The data was gathered from groups of teachers in five comprehensive schools. They agreed to help with the inquiry in the hope of shedding some light on the problems and perspectives of teaching careers as a way of helping other teachers. The research is not a description of teacher careers in schools in England and Wales, nor is it intended as an empirical hypothesis testing survey designed to collect vast quantities of data for later computer analysis. One additional outcome thought to be particularly desirable was the production of teaching materials for in-service use with teacher-groups.

The research was concerned with the individual as he seeks a career within the school, with his perceptions and interpretations of what he believes to be occurring, and attempts to set this against a background of rapid and substantial structural change in the secondary sector. Against an image existing in the minds of some of the older teachers of what used to be the case, a clearly delineated career structure appears to have emerged; a range of career goals has become available, and competition exists for posts at a national level. As a result, a bureaucratic and hierarchically organised career structure has emerged, overlying an existing value structure.

The data were organized using a simple theoretical model principally derived from the work of Everett Hughes, Julius Roth and Howard Becker. This model proved most useful in describing and explaining the career behaviours identified, and in understanding how schools become the source of different careers for the teachers who work in them.

Generally speaking, those teachers who are hierarchically successful hold a 'relevant' career-map, a strategy and a timetable. The worth of the map lies in its correspondence with those held by the gate-keepers who regulate and control teacher progression between career stages. The maps, strategies and timetables were acquired by a number of means, but overwhelmingly by observation of a teacher's significant peers — he learns from the behaviour of those colleagues he wishes to emulate. He will, if he is successful, be willing to learn from any source which can provide reliable information.

A 'good' map takes note of the need to be built in sequential compartments, it will have a 'fast' timetable, and it will enable the teacher to acquire the relevant experience, qualifications and attitudes for each successive stage before the consideration of any move between stages. It will recognize the need for the teacher to seek sponsors, it will orientate him towards holding fulfillable goals, thus lessening the chances of his becoming blocked at any one career stage, and it will therefore become capable of revision as new timetables and gate-keeping devices emerge. It will limit fortuity. There will be unsuccessful maps, of course. A given percentage of the teachers in this sample had neither perceived the need for a map of a career, nor acquired one. The existence of timetables for career succession therefore disadvantages some groups of teachers, whilst others reject entirely the value bases upon which 'successful' maps and timetables are predicated. The school makes some acknowledgement of these issues and offers differentiated careers to the teaching staff who work in it.

Emerging Facts

The insights given by this piece of work, particularly in the present economic climate, draw attention to an urgent need for more substantial information

(1) to help those beginning a career in teaching, in the early stages of career development and planning;
(2) for those who would help others in their career development and planning;
(3) for those in policy positions who would look to making more viable and satisfying careers in teaching.

Findings which offer assistance in a practical way to the three groups noted above include

(1) The model identifies groups of teachers who become disadvantaged, a point reinforced by the discontinuities in some of the careers examined.

(2) The research reveals an orientation to success based upon a hierarchical ordering of responsibility. This serves to bring out the fundamental value basis of a series of problems existing within teaching: (a) the nature of success; (b) the rewards to be offered; (c) the standard of teacher-worth.

(3) The evidence, by implication, suggests the probable existence of a pecking order of schools according to the opportunities they afford for subsequent promotion.

(4) This study draws attention to the need for more flexibility of structure, and progression, for careers in teaching.

(5) It also draws attention to practical problems involved in managing the school; preserving a balance between stability and turnover; the complex personal factors involved in 'man management' and the acquisition of the necessary skills for effective performance. All of these factors are involved in giving *all* teachers a satisfying career.

It must now be evident that teaching provides a regularized bureaucratic career in which each stage of the career provides the necessary qualifications for entry to the next and succeeding stages.

In the last decade the existing structure was based upon a new, open and expanding secondary system. That situation was fairly fluid and most of those who wanted it could look forward to promotion. As the dynamic created new schools and new posts, the ambitious could forge ahead according to the relevant timetables, and the school could shrug aside anomalies and mistakes in recruitment through the creation of new posts. Now new career timetables and maps are being formulated as the system anticipates contraction due to the falling birth rate, and financial cutbacks at national and local levels are imposed, and a career structure which rewards specialization comes into conflict with the need to employ and deploy generalists to maintain viable curricula in the contracting school.

A further substantial issue has also emerged, which becomes important as the consequences and ramifications become more apparent — the effects upon the educational sector of legislation relating generally to current employment issues, and to conditions of recruitment, service and employment. The possibility is now there for the contracts that teachers hold with their employers to become much more specific in nature with the opportunities and conditions for promotion more succinctly specified, as the previous informal

conditions and relationships based upon then current notions of professionalism and commitment inevitably change.

At the same time the essential facts remain that teachers will be looking for different sorts of success within their careers, that they will hold different views of their fulfillable goals, and that, for some, careers will be viewed as relevant only to the persons concerned, while for others it will be a case of matching ambitions to what the institution or the system can offer. Hopefully, in terms of the career satisfactions offered, the educational system will recognize this in terms of its reward structure.

The model which has been used here to examine teacher careers allows many more questions to be asked than this research can possibly answer, and it is hoped that, by using the model to examine the careers of this one group of teachers, sufficient illustrative information has become available to allow some generalization to be made, although the perils of such generalizations are apparent. Additionally, the use of the model encourages openness, in itself a potential cause of change, and perhaps through greater equality avoids the loss of good candidates who hold bad maps. However, one thing the use of the model does is to draw our attention forcefully to the type of skills and experience which are necessary for those holding top posts in schools and local education authorities in these particularly troubled times. The model has also allowed the examination of careers in teaching in a way different from that conventionally adopted.

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'Children influence their parents' attitudes to school as much as the parents influence the children's.'

How do you know?

'The more choice there is in the secondary school curriculum, the more differences there will be between the subjects studied by boys and girls.'

Can you prove it?

'Primary school teachers tend to see girls in a more favourable light than boys.'

What's the evidence?

In the world of education, the air is always full of controversial statements. But this doesn't mean that all opinions are equally likely to be true. Some opinions have been carefully tested by observation, measurement and the collection of statements from wide samples of teachers, pupils or parents.

That's what educational research is about. The statements quoted above, for example, are all substantiated by articles within one issue of the NFER journal *Educational Research* (21:3, June 1979).

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